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Interview: Murray Rothbard and Leonard Liggio discuss foreign policy

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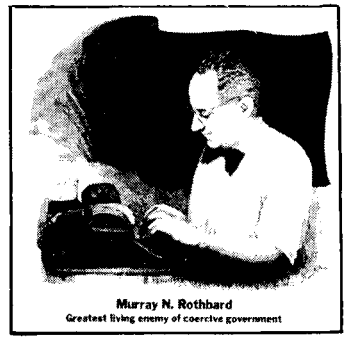

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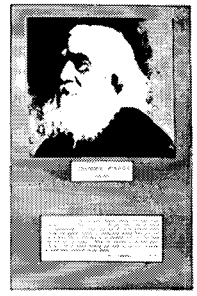

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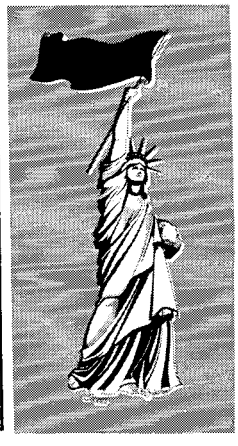

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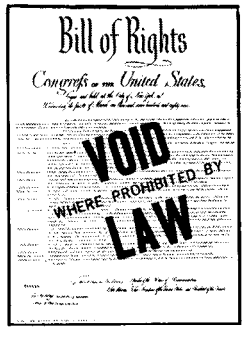

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the new isolationism

An Interview with Murray Rothbard and Leonard Liggio

Although most libertarians are in substantial agreement on fundamental premises which recognize the right of an individual to his life and property, and the right to be free from the initiation of force, in the application of such principles there is sometimes disagreement and blind spots among libertarians. Particularly this is true in the area of foreign policy. Thus, for example, the Libertarian Party—at the same time that it explicitly opposes "all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relationships among individuals" and recognizes that "men should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others"—also takes a stand in favor of military alliances with countries "whose continued free existence is vital to the protection of the freedom of all American citizens" and asserts that "we should have a sufficient nuclear capacity to convince any potential aggressor that it cannot hope to survive a first strike against the United States." To the extent that libertarianism is founded on a defense of individual rights, is it possible to reconcile the collective security/nuclear defense positions taken by the Libertarian Party? Or should libertarians espouse a noninterventionist foreign policy*—with isolationism and neutrality as its watchwords?*

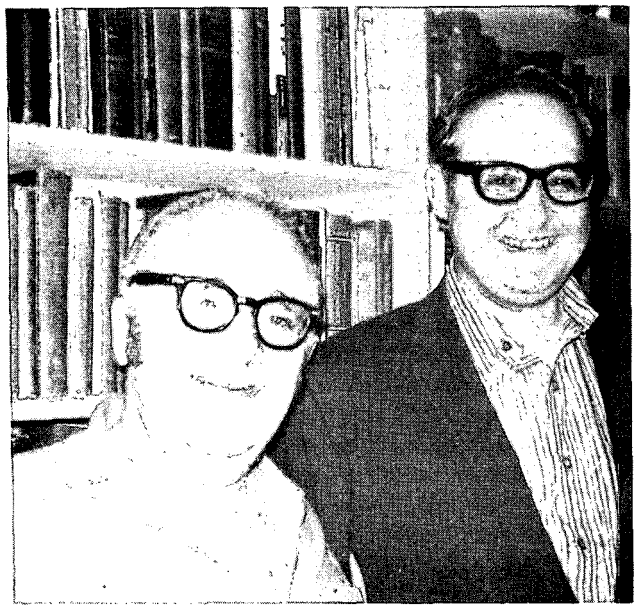
In this month's exclusive REASON *interview, two of the leading theoreticians of the libertarian movement discuss the implications of libertarianism in the area of foreign policy. Dr. Murray N. Rothbard and Leonard Liggio were interviewed by* REASON *while they were in Los Angeles last June. Dr. Rothbard's name is, of course, well known to* REASON *readers. Widely recognized as one of the leading libertarian scholars, Dr. Rothbard is Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University, and he has authored* MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE *(1962),* THE PANIC OF 1819 *(1963),* AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION *(1963), and* POWER & MARKET *(1970), as well as numerous other books and articles. Dr. Rothbard's latest book,* FOR A NEW LIBERTY *will be published this spring by The MacMillan Company and portions of it will be pre-printed next month in* REASON.

Leonard Liggio is an instructor in history at City College, City University of New York. A leading revisionist historian, Liggio received his degrees from Georgetown and Fordham. He has contributed chapters to COLD WAR CRITICS *(1971) and* THE NEW HISTORY OF LEVIATHAN *(1972) and has also published in various periodicals.*

Liggio and Rothbard are close friends and have together contributed much that is new and significant in terms of serious revisionist scholarship. Both of them were strongly influenced by Ludwig von Mises, foremost exponent of the Austrian School of Economics, who taught for many years at New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration. Both Rothbard and Liggio were coeditors of the significant journal of libertarian thought, LEFT AND RIGHT, *which was published from 1965 through 1968. Rothbard presently is editor of* THE LIBERTARIAN FORUM, *a monthly newsletter, and it has recently been reported to* REASON *that a Rothbard-for-Mayor boomlet is developing in New York City among libertarian political activists.*

By the time of the election last November, Rothbard shifted from his reluctant endorsement of McGovern—which he expressed in the interview—to a pro-Nixon position. Up to then a life-long anti-Nixonite, Rothbard told REASON *before the election that he finally swung against McGovern because of two factors: "the horrendous McGovern economics-compulsory egalitarianism, and the quota system thinking, which also is of course an egalitarian doctrine, and which is so dangerous it should be scotched immediately."*

REASON *editor Manuel S. Klausner, who also studied under Mises at NYU, interviewed Rothbard and Liggio in the Klausner home in Los Angeles. Commencing at midnight, following a leisurely bout of wining and dining, the interview offers many new insights for those libertarians who have been misguided by Cold War-nationalistic-right wing rhetoric in the area of foreign policy. Libertarian wives, Joey Rothbard and Willette Klausner were also in attendance during the interview.*



Rothbard (left) and Liggio (right) in Rothbard's New York City apartment.

LIGGIO: "Isolationism is the practical application of Libertarianism in the realm of foreign policy."

ROTHBARD: "The Libertarian position is to minimize State power as much as possible down to zero, and isolationism is the full expression of the domestic objective of whittling down State power and minimizing it."

REASON: First of all, if you could briefly describe, Murray, what is the role that you have played in the Libertarian movement during your career.

ROTHBARD: Well, I was there longer than most people. I started out as a laissez-faire Libertarian in about 1946 or 1947. By the winter of '50, I advanced from support of government limited to defense—by compelling logic—to anarcho capitalism. This makes some 26 years in the movement, and I have been working hard at it ever since, I guess that explains part of it.

REASON: Let me ask, Leonard, if you could briefly summarize what your role has been in the Libertarian movement.

LIGGIO: I had a long interest in isolationism starting with the period before the Second World War, especially during 1940 and 1941, in which I observed with great interest and cheered on the Isolationist movement. I continued to give complete support during the darkest days of the Isolationist movement—during the period of World War II, when Isolationism was subjected to a vast amount of persecution culminating in the famous Sedition trials of 1944, in which Laurence Dennis and other important figures played an important part. And then there was a great renaissance of Isolationist thought during the post World War II period in which there was the famous fight against the Truman foreign policies that occurred in the Congress led by the Mid Western Isolationists—especially Howard Buffett and George Bender in the House of Representatives and Kenneth Wherry and Robert Taft in the Senate.

This led me to active involvement in activities supporting Isolationists in their opposition to the Korean war, and finally culminating in the campaign for Senator Taft's nomination in the 1952 Presidential Campaign and the great climactic struggle between the forces of collective security represented by Dwight Eisenhower in the Republican Party and Adlai Stevenson in the Democratic Party on the one hand, both of whom had the same supporters even though they were two separate political parties, and then the Isolationists led by Senator Taft standing outside of this grouping that worked together for the nominations of Eisenhower and of Stevenson. With the loss of the Taft campaign it became clear that something much more rigorous, much more well defined was necessary than the traditional Republican Isolationism, and at that point the impact of the ideas of laissez-faire became very important and I was introduced to the ideas of Professor Ludwig von Mises by Ralph Raico, who was also a fellow co-worker in the campaign of the Youth for Taft in the 1952 campaign.

At that point, the modified laissez-faire ideas then became rigorously applied and it was clear that the ideas of Professor von Mises drawn to the logical conclusion meant anarchism; and in that process, being located at that time in the City of Washington, I had the good fortune to be associated with the great teacher of Libertarianism, Frank Chodorov [author of *ONE IS A CROWD*] who had been so long associated with Albert Jay Nock [author of *OUR ENEMY, THE STATE* and *JEFFERSON*], and who had carried the banner of Libertarianism for many dark years, especially in publication of the journal *ANALYSIS* and then later *HUMAN EVENTS*—under the old style of *HUMAN EVENTS,* which had been founded by Felix Morley—and then through the various processes of reading and observing political

developments and through the Mises seminar which became the focal point for all the further development of Libertarian ideas.

All the younger people began in the mid-1950s to attend the Mises seminar at New York University and at that point came into contact with the preeminent heir of Professor von Mises, Murray Rothbard, and after that history began.

REASON: Would you identify, Leonard, the Isolationist views of Taft with a Libertarian foreign policy?

LIGGIO: Isolationism is the practical application of Libertarianism in the realm of foreign policy, and the close interrelationship between Libertarianism and Isolationism is evident if one has any sense of the history of both of these movements in American history in the 20th century.

The leading personalities associated with Libertarianism would be people such as Albert Jay Nock especially, and Randolph Bourne and also Henry Mencken and Oswald Garrison Villard. These were important and intellectual figures in the immediate period before World War I, who became central figures in protesting in World War I, suffering if they were in academic posts by being expelled from university teaching or, in the case of journalism, suffering for their opposition to the war.

This was true of Nock especially who, as the chief editorial writer for Villard's *NATION,* saw the magazine confiscated by the American government on the grounds that Nock's editorials criticized Samuel Gompers as the President of the American Federation of Labor, on the basis that Gompers was acting as the bagman for the American Government in buying off European labor in order to keep their support for American foreign policy in World War I. And immediately after World War I began, Nock arranged for the publication of Francis Neilson's book *HOW DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR,* and he himself brought out, first in his journal *THE FREEMAN,* and then as a book, *THE MYTH OF THE GUILTY NATION,* his own writings on American foreign policy showing the responsibility of the United States for entry into World War I in 1917. This was followed by Harry Elmer Barnes' monumental work *THE GENESIS OF THE WORLD WAR,* which followed up on Nock's position, which showed not only that the United States entered World War I on its own volition, but also that the responsibility of the war was primarily that of those powers which clustered around the Allied side—Serbia, Czarist Russia, France, and England—rather than Germany and Austria and Hungary.

This constellation of Isolationist forces, many of whom were principal spokesmen for Libertarianism, was the intellectual vanguard for the fight against collective security in 1919, for the prevention of American entry into the League of Nations, and the defeat of the horrendous and vicious Versailles Treaty. And the leadership of this group politically in the Senate was in the hands of Senator William Borah of Idaho who led the famous Battalion of Death—the great Isolationist group in the Senate, which included the two LaFollettes, and later Wheeler, Nye, Langer, and finally Taft.

In the years between 1920 and 1940, you found a flowering of Isolationist writings in close proximity to the flowering of Libertarian ideas, especially in the hands of Albert J. Nock. And then with the beginnings of World War II the great purge of the Isolationists occurred—the purge of Oswald Garrison Villard, from the *NATION,* the purge of John Flynn, the brilliant critic of the warfare state from the *NEW REPUBLIC,* the purge of Harry Elmer Barnes as editorial writer and columnist for the Scripps-Howard papers, and the imposition of what Harry Elmer Barnes has so accurately described as the "historical blackout" and the forcing of Isolationist Libertarian spokesmen into what can easily be described as an underground during World War II, when the pressures that I earlier described in terms of the trials were used as an attempt by the Government to pressure all to silence—all Isolationist Libertarians. But with the end of the war, the possibility then of the emergence of this kind of criticism—in which the more obvious development of foreign policy dominating American affairs, especially in the postwar world, in the Cold War—was able to attract large numbers of people. Then many of these people went on to the logical conclusions of Isolationism, i.e., anarchism.

REASON: Let me ask, Murray, if you would give a brief statement of your view of Isolationism as an essential tenet of Libertarian foreign policy.

ROTHBARD: I think the Libertarian position, generally, is to minimize State power as much as possible down to zero and Isolationism is the full expression of the domestic objective of whittling down State power and minimizing it. In other words, interventionism is the opposite of isolationism which of course goes on up to war, as the aggrandizement of State power crosses national boundaries into other States, other countries, pushing other people around etc. so this is the foreign counterpart, so to speak, of the domestic aggression against the internal population. I see the two as united in the sense that Libertarians wish to limit or abolish domestic State intervention.

The responsibility of wishing to abolish or limit foreign intervention is avoided by many Conservative Libertarians in that they are very, very concerned with things like price control—of course I agree with

"Most conservatives deplore all the time the increase in State power in the American Government in the last 50 or 70 years, but what they don't seem to realize is that most of these increases took place in giant leaps during wartime."

them—they are very, very concerned about eliminating taxes, licensing and so forth—with which I agree—but somehow when it comes to foreign policy there's a blackout: the Libertarian passion against the State, the hostility toward expanding Government intervention and so forth, goes by the board—all of a sudden you hear those same people who are worried about Government intervention in the steel industry or something cheering on every American act of mass murdering in Viet Nam or bombing or pushing around people all over the world. Somehow they don't link the domestic state to the foreign state—the foreign policy of the State—it's a very peculiar situation. It shows, for one thing, that the mystification powers of the State—that starts with the powers of the State apparatus to bamboozle the public—work better in foreign affairs than they do in domestic. In foreign affairs you still have this mystique that the nation-State is protecting you from a bad bogeyman behind the other side of the mountain. There are "bad" guys out there out to conquer the world and "our" guys are in there trying to protect them. So not only is this the logical corollary of Libertarianism which many Libertarians don't put into practice; in addition to that, as Randolph Bourne says, "war is the health of the State."

The State thrives on war—unless of course it is defeated and crushed—apart from that, the State thrives on war, expands on it, glories in it. For one thing, when one State attacks another State, once they get in a war against another State, a State is able through this intellectual bamboozlement of the public to convince them that they must rush to the defense of the State because they think the State is defending *them.* In other words, if let's say, take a deliberately trivial example: if Paraguay and Brazil are going to get into a war, each State—the Paraguayan Government and the Brazilian Government—is able to convince their own subjects that the other Government is out to get them and somehow loot them and murder them in their beds and so forth, so they are able to induce their own hapless subjects to defend themselves against the foreigner—against the other State—whereas in actual practice, of course, it is the States that have the quarrel, not the people. The people are outside the quarrels of the State and yet the State is able to generate this patriotic mass war hysteria and to call everybody up to the colors both physically and spiritually and economically and therefore, of course, aggrandize State power permanently.

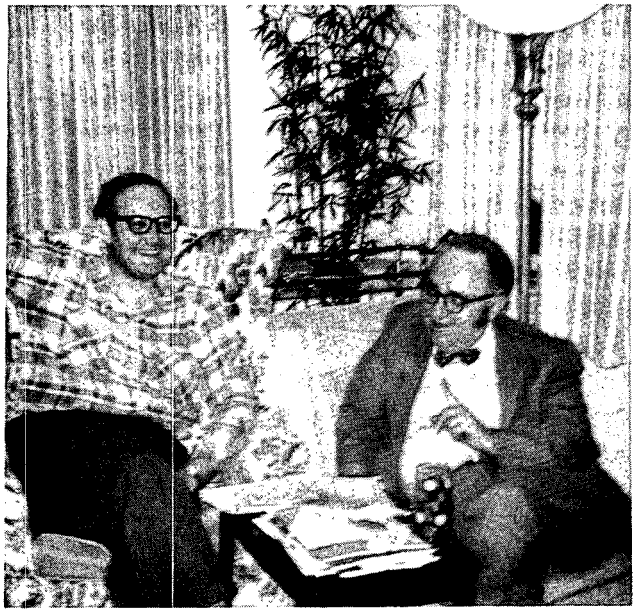
Most Conservatives and Libertarians are very familiar with—and deplore all the time—the increase in State power in the American Government in the last 50 or 70 years, but what they don't seem to realize is that most of these increases took place in giant leaps during wartime. It was wartime that provided the crisis situation—the spark—which enabled the States to put on so-called "emergency" measures, which of course never got lifted—or rarely got lifted.

Even the war of 1812—as we look back on the war of 1812 it was a harmless little escapade—but even the war of 1812 was evil, and also in the domestic sense, in that it imposed and ruined the Jeffersonian Party for a long time to come, it established Federalism which means monopoly State-capitalism in essence, it imposed a central bank, it imposed high tariffs, it imposed domestic federal taxation which never existed before, internal taxation, and it took them a long time to get rid of it and we never really did get back to the pre-War of 1812 level of minimal State power—limited Governmental power. That was bad enough. Then, of course, the Mexican war had consequences of slave expansion and so forth. But the Civil War was of course much greater—the Civil War was really the great turning point, one of the great turning points in the increase of State power, because with the Civil War you now have the total introduction of things like railroad land grants, subsidies of big business, permanent high tariffs, which the Jacksonians had been able to whittle away before the Civil War, and a total revolution in the monetary system so that the old pure gold standard was replaced first by greenback paper, and then by the National Banking Act—a controlled banking system—and for the first time the imposition in the United States of an income tax and federal conscription. The income tax was reluctantly eliminated after the Civil War as was conscription; all the other things—high excise taxes on liquor and whisky and cigarettes—most of these things continued on again as a permanent accession of State power over the American public.

The third huge increase of power came out of World War I. World War I set both the foreign and the domestic policies for the twentieth century. Woodrow Wilson set the entire pattern for the entire foreign policy from 1917 to the present. There is a total continuity between Wilson, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Johnson and Nixon—the same thing all the way down the line.

REASON: You'd include Kennedy in that?

ROTHBARD: Yes Kennedy, right. I don't want to miss anybody. Every President has been inspired by Woodrow Wilson. It was reported that the first act Richard Nixon did when he came into the White House was to put a picture of Woodrow Wilson in



front of him on his desk. The same influence has held on domestic affairs. As a matter of fact if I had to single out—this is one of my favorites pastimes—the biggest S.O.B.s in American history in the sense of S.O.B. impact—of evil impact—I think Woodrow Wilson was way, way at the head of the list for many reasons. The permanent direction which Woodrow Wilson set for foreign policy included the permanent collective security concept, which means America has some sort of God-given role to push everybody around everywhere and set up little democratic governments all over the world, and to suppress any kind of revolution against the status quo—that means any kind of change in the status quo either domestic or foreign. In the domestic sphere the corollary was the shift from a relatively laissez-faire economy—corrupted as it was by the Civil War subsidies it was still and all a relatively laissez-faire capitalism—a deliberate shift from that to what is in essence a so-called corporate state—which openly became a corporate state in Mussolini's Italy and Nazi Germany.

REASON: As of what point in time would you say?

ROTHBARD: Well, it started—well the Progressive period begins around 1900 with Teddy Roosevelt and so forth. Woodrow Wilson cements it with his so-called reforms and administration which totally subjects the banking system to federal power, the Federal Trade Commission which totally did for business what the Interstate Commerce Commission did for the railroads, and what the Federal Reserve System did for banking, in other words imposed a system of monopoly capitalism, or corporate state monopoly, which we now call the partnership of the Government and of big business and industry, which means essentially a corporate state or we can call it economic Fascism. It culminated in World War I economic planning, for the war consisted of a totally collectivized economy headed by the sainted and revered Bernard Mannes Baruch, head of the War Industries Board. The economy had a central Board and each industry was governed by a committee from the industry—say the iron and steel industry was governed by the Iron and Steel Board, the heads of the Board were deliberately selected from the biggest firms in that particular industry and they would negotiate with committees of industry set up by the Government, and the Government would encourage trade associations in the industries to set up committees and negotiate with these Boards. So what you have is the so-called commodity sections—in other words the Government Boards which were selected from the biggest business men in the industry—and the fixed prices and production and priority and everything else with other Committees set up by the same big firms—you know as long as your left hand was talking to your right hand, and everyone loved it. The big businesses loved it, the Government loved it and the Progressive intellectuals—as they were called then—saw in this a magnificent third way—"middle way" as they called it—to battle the old laissez-faire capitalism on the one hand, and the new proletarian Marxian socialism on the other. They didn't like the idea of Marxian socialism because it was messy, emphasized class struggle, and led to a revolution perhaps. What they saw here was a new order—and this was a vision held by Baruch and Hoover and all sorts of progressive intellectuals from the universities and so forth—they saw a beautiful new order with big government controlling the economy, regulating it, subsidizing it, largely staffed by big business men in collaboration with unions which were deliberately encouraged as disciplinary agents for the labor force, and which were practically created by the war labor system. All this of course was staffed and apologized for by the Progressive intellectuals, who acquired prestige, power and a great sense of accomplishment pushing people around in their Government bureaus.

So we have, then, this unholy partnership of big Government, big business, big unions and intellectuals, and it was developed so much in World War I planning that the business leaders and the Government leaders who pushed the thing were very reluctant to see it end, for they saw in it not just a wartime measure—this is the model they wanted to see for the permanent peacetime economy, this is what they really wanted, they wanted to end all messy competition. As one big business writer said, "As General Sherman said 'war is hell, competition is war and therefore competition is hell.'" They wanted to eliminate competition, and to establish a system of industrial "cooperation" monopoly. And they were very sorry to see the War Industries Board scrapped when the war was over. As a matter of fact, it almost wasn't scrapped—Wilson finally decided to scrap it,

but it was touch and go, and then afterwards the same people—Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Bernard Baruch, all the people who had earned their stripes in World War I mobilization planning for the rest of their lives tried and then succeeded in reestablishing World War I planning—it was known as war collectivism—as a permanent peacetime set up. Herbert Hoover during the 1920's was trying to use the power of the Government to encourage and support trade association cartel agreements, and Franklin Roosevelt also. When Roosevelt and The New Deal got in, they used not only the same agencies as World War I collectivism, but the same people. In case after case the people were brought back to do for the economy as it was done in war—to treat the depression in a military manner, and then World War II, of course, finishes it. In World War II, we have another big quantum leap—enormous government spending and military-industrial pump priming, and the permanent cold war, and so we then have the plans for a permanent peacetime welfare-warfare state—a corporate state—pushed through of course by partnership of these powerful forces plus intellectuals but done by means of wartime crisis.

REASON: Well, what about the Korean war, what role did that play?

LIGGIO: The Korean war was important because it came at a time when there was a growing Isolationist movement. It was a movement which was able to focus a good deal of opposition to Government policies, some of which had been focused on domestic programs of the Truman administration and then was focused on the foreign policy—starting with the expansion of the role of the United States in international financial situations, the international monetary fund, the expansion of the Import-Export Bank, the use of the large-scale loans to Great Britain in 1946, the Greek-Turkish aid program of 1947, the Marshall Plan, the NATO, the implementations of NATO, and then finally the intervention by United States in the Korean War in 1950. And the opposition to that war took the form of increased analysis of why the war was occurring and what the issues were in the war. This led to clarification of the ideas that the Libertarians had with regard to foreign policy, which in turn aided their analysis of policy of the Government in general, leading to a much more rigorous Libertarian policy with regard to domestic as well as foreign policy. As the Korean war continued and became more crisis laden, the people who became Libertarians were moved to Libertarianism by the pressure of events, which caused them to do much more reading—to read the history of American foreign policy on the one hand with a great deal more depth and, on the other hand, to understand the nature of the American political and economic system by more careful reading of the developing literature with regard to the economy, including the very important work by Friedrich Hayek, *THE ROAD TO SERFDOM,* and then taking off from there to read the works by Von Mises—*HUMAN ACTION, SOCIALISM, BUREAUCRACY, PLANNED CHAOS,* etc.—and the work of F. A. Harper, *LIBERTY: A PATH TO ITS RECOVERY* and *IN SEARCH OF PEACE.*

REASON: When you speak in terms, Leonard, of reading the history of American foreign policy with more depth, are you referring in particular to the works of the revisionist historians or do you have any other thing in mind?

LIGGIO: Yes I'm referring to the works of the revisionist historians which first of all appeared in articles in regard to World War II and the period following World War II, and then finally began to appear in book form. The earliest study dealing with the origins of World War II was the pamphlet which was written by the late William L. Neumann called *THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR,* which Neumann wrote while he was in a Conscientious Objector camp during World War II and which was published by the American Friends Service Committee in the spring of 1945. This was followed by other studies by Neumann and by Harry Elmer Barnes especially editing *PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE* which was published in the early 1950's by Caxton publishers, in Idaho. And the most important, probably, of that period, the work by Charles Beard—the two volumes dealing with President Roosevelt and the Second World War, which contained an important concluding chapter outlining the prospects for increased interventionism as a result of World War II: that the expansion of presidential power would lead to future attempts by the executive branch of the American government to use foreign policy as its means of aggrandizing power in the domestic sphere. This was followed by the important work by Charles C. Tansill, *BACK DOOR TO WAR.* So that you have the continuity by the historians associated with the American Old Right of the tradition that they had already established in the 1920's and the 1930's of being the principal and outstanding critics of American foreign policy—except that in the period after World War II, they encountered a vast amount of hostility resulting from a well organized attempt to prevent the public from being in a position to know this information by those who felt that the collective security system which had been proposed at the end of World War I was undermined by the revisionist

historians and scholars who had revealed the reality about the origins of the First World War. What occurred, therefore, was that the people who wanted to provide the framework for a collective security system after World War II organized themselves and undertook a careful campaign to prevent the public from being able to discover the facts about that the responsibility of the United States in the origins of the Second World War.

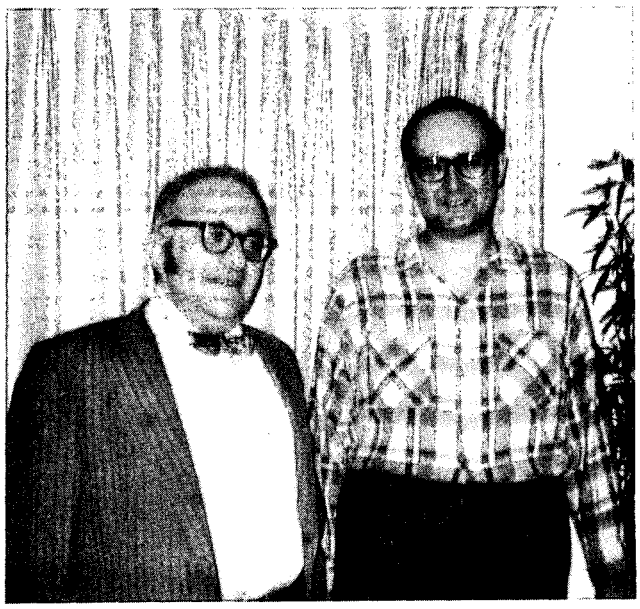
REASON: Leonard, may I ask briefly what do you mean by the Old Right in the context of your prior statement?

LIGGIO: The Old Right was that group in American political history which emerged at the end of World War I—emerged as critics of the expansion of domestic power of the American State and as critics of the expansion of American power with regard to foreign policy. These were the people who were the Isolationists, who criticized the whole concept and system of collective security and then carried this criticism through the 20's and 30's into World War II and joined to that a strong critique of the New Deal domestic policies which they saw as part and parcel of the interventionism abroad applied as interventionism at home. The Old Right was characterized by strong commitment to limited Government—to strong limitation on the power of the executive in foreign and domestic affairs, and to a critique of the increase of taxing power which the federal government received as a result of the 16th amendment.

REASON: The notion of collective security is something that many Americans today take for granted as something that's desirable and essential. Murray, I'd like you to comment on what your view is of the desirability of a policy of collective security.

ROTHBARD: Well I think the concept of collective security is (1) a disaster and (2) anti-Libertarian. Viet Nam again brings this thing to the fore, in the sense of masking Imperial interventionist policy on the part of the American government in the rhetoric of the cloak of righteousness and moralistic pieties. The theory is that--let's take for example two hypothetical states—this is the technique Von Mises used to use, I think, with good effect—take the hypothetical states of Ruritania and Waldavia, somewhere off the Balkans or whatever. The Ruritanian State invades the Waldavian State. The collective-security view is that this constitutes aggression, it's evil per se—an evil state per se attacking a victim state, the Ruritanian State being the aggressor in this case and then it becomes the duty of every other State in the whole wide world—the United States being somehow the divinely appointed chief and almost sole pourer out of resources in this effort—to step in to defend the victim—so-called victim, and crush the aggressor. Now this has very many important consequences. One is that every crumby little interstate conflict anywhere in the world becomes escalated and maximized into world wide global conflict. With this kind of policy it means that no dispute anywhere, however trivial, can ever be kept trivial or kept isolated to the parties of the dispute, as they become globalized and bring everybody else into the holocaust. The second problem is that the whole idea of the agressor state and the victim state is based on the phony analogy of the individual citizen--individual person--suffering an aggression against him.

You mentioned the Korean war; you remember the big argument President Truman used about Korea—he said, "We are not engaged in a war, we are engaged in a police action, a U.N. police action against the North Korean aggressor." Now when he said that he was not just using peculiar phony rhetoric, he was not doing that. The point is the rhetoric came out of the Wilsonian collective security ideology, which was: if you see armies crossing frontiers or somewhere, this constitutes aggression. It means that in the same sense as if I see Jones beating up Smith on the street, the policeman on the block rushes to his defense, and so therefore the United States and the United Nations become the policemen rushing to defend the victim. Now there are several problems in this. One is that even in the case of Jones and Smith, the presumption is if you see Jones beating up Smith that you should rush to Smith's defense. However, there might be certain mitigating circumstances. Smith might have just beaten up Jones's kid, and Jones might be retaliating; in other words, Smith might have started the fight—you don't know that without historical investigation so to speak of the Smith-Jones relationship. In the case of states, you have a completely different situation because this ideology assumes that



"The Old Right was that group in American political history which, at the end of World War I, emerged as critics of the expansion of domestic power of the American State and as critics of the expansion of American power with regard to foreign policy."

the Waldavian State and Ruritanian State are somehow the rightful owners of all their territory, just as Jones owns his own clothes or his own watch and Smith does, too, and then Smith beats Jones up or takes his watch away from him, and this is aggression. The analogy then becomes well, if Ruritania invades Waldavia, this means that Waldavian territory, Waldavian property, rightful property, has been taken away from them by the Ruritanian aggressor.

Now the point is for the Libertarian that *none* of these States have any rightful property, that the Ruritanian Government does not properly and justly own the entire land area of the country—the property should be owned by individual citizens, the State apparatus has then no title, no just claim. So if the Ruritanian State crosses the frontier and fights the Waldavian State, this does not make the Ruritanian State any more of an aggressor than the original Waldavian State. *Both* of them are aggressors over their subject populations. Considering that and the whole idea that every other government should rush in and defend Waldavia means that not only is every small *conflict* escalated to a global scale—it also means that every small *aggression* is maximized in the global scale. In other words, since all governments aggress against their citizens through taxes, through conscription, through mass murder called war, the more governments that enter into the picture—the more the United States, Britain or whatever rushes in to defend Waldavia—the more innocent civilians get killed, the more innocent people are forced to pay taxes, the more innocent people are conscripted. So the way to minimize aggression when you are dealing with states is to agitate and press for nobody to enter into any conflict at all—hopefully for no government to go to war with any other government—and if any government does go to war for the third, fourth and fifth party to stay the blazes out.

Apart from all this, the boundaries of each State—Waldavian, Ruritanian, American, French, British boundaries—since they are not justly owned by any sort of process of capital investment or homesteading or anything else—all state boundaries have always been the result of previous conquests—so in many cases the so-called aggressor state has a better claim than the so-called victim state. For example, suppose that Ruritania is "aggressing" and declares war on Waldavia and starts seizing the Northwestern part of Waldavia. Well, it's very possible that the Northwestern part of Waldavia is ethnically Ruritanian, had Ruritanian customs, and that 100 years ago, the Waldavian State had conquered it and now the Ruritanians were taking it back. This is a perfectly legitimate claim, so the point is, then, that all interstate wars intensify aggression—maximize it—and that some wars are even more unjust than others. In other words, all government wars are unjust, although some governments have less unjust claims in the sense that they might have—well, let's put it this way—in the case of the Ruritanian-Waldavian thing when the Ruritanians are simply taking back ethnically Ruritanian territory and the Ruritanian masses were yearning to rejoin their homeland—then Libertarians, it seems to me, would say that that war would then be just if the following conditions were satisfied: (1) There were no taxes imposed; (2) No innocent civilians got killed; (3) Nobody got conscripted—in other words, it was a purely voluntary fight. Obviously to meet these conditions, it would be almost impossible but there are different gradations—you know real life wars, approaching this. A "just war" would be for all these conditions to be met.

REASON: Let me ask you, Murray, what is your view of the applicability of the concept of collective security to, say, a situation involving a private nongovernmental band of pirates that plunder and attack innocent victims?

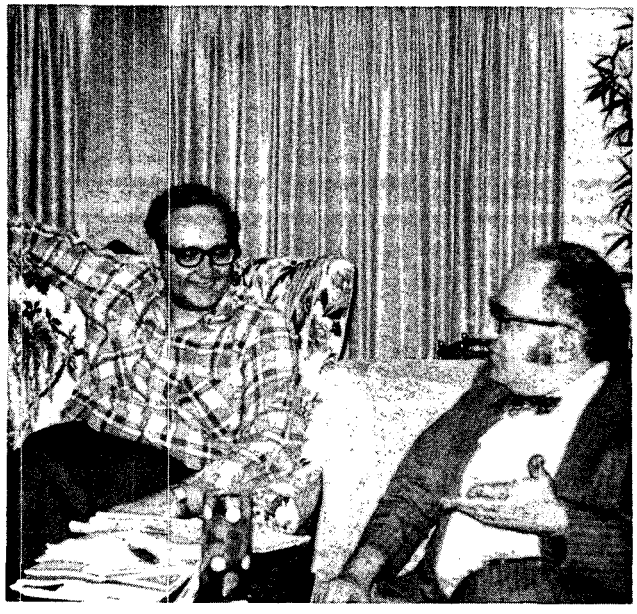
ROTHBARD: Well I wouldn't call it collective security, I would call it—well, first of all, I don't like the word "collective" anyway. Collective implies some sort of nonexistent collectivity that acts—has a being and acts; only individuals exist, only individuals act. So that if private people get aggressed against by pirates I would certainly be in favor of and certainly support the right of these individual victims to defend themselves against piracy by banding together, or by hiring other agencies to defend themselves. I don't like to call that collective, because collective implies some sort of coercive totality.

REASON: Let's assume, then, you have some type of mutual defense pact entered into by private individuals to defend themselves against a band of private nongovernmental pirate marauders—let's say that it would be probable that there would be innocent victims who would be injured as a result of the defense tactics that were most appropriate to use in defending private interests. What would be your view on the propriety of such tactics being carried out?

ROTHBARD: I think—first, one of the points that I should have mentioned about wars, why I am opposed to all of them—is that in modern times the scale of weaponry that's used is escalated so that it's almost impossible *not* to murder innocent civilians. Part of the reason for this is not only the march of technology—the fact that if you use a bow and arrow

you can pinpoint it against the enemy army—you can pinpoint it at the retinue of a king; if you use H bombs or B-29s or whatever, of course, you can't pinpoint them to the warring soldiers and officers—you *have* to start mass murdering of civilians. There's another reason for this and that is that the State apparatus identifies itself—brings to itself so to speak—gathers to itself under its skirts the entire population of its territory—so that if you happen to live in France you as a French citizen, even though you might hate the war that France is conducting against Portugal or whatever, you are committed to it by the very nature of the state system—so that if the French Government goes to war with the Portuguese Government, the Portuguese Government might undoubtedly bomb, if they can, the French civilian population. So, in other words, the very nature of interstate war puts innocent civilians into great jeopardy, especially with modern technology.

However, if you didn't have state war, if we had simply private—if states were eliminated or if you are only talking about private marauders versus private defenders, then the situation completely changes. Then you don't only have one state and one geographical area secure in its home base, and the other state somewhere else in its geographical area on its home base. In other words, to put it bluntly, you are not going to have either the marauders or the defenders each bombing each other because they are only perhaps five blocks apart. So the result of this is that you only use H bomb and mass murder—commit genocide of an enemy—if they are way out there somewhere and you can't see them—if they are several thousand miles away. The beauty of non-state—interprivate, if you want to put it that way—warfare is that it has to be pinpointed—it *has* to be, in order not to commit suicide in the process—and so



that scale of weaponry has to be reduced say to machinegun level. In that situation, I don't see why civilians have to be injured at all. After all, look at private crime now: supposing somebody robs or somebody beats somebody over the head and steals a person's pocketbook and runs down the street. The police right now do not—at least I hope they don't—spray machinegun fire on the entire crowd in order to shoot down the criminal. The principle is that no innocent person can get killed and if the criminal escapes it's tough luck, because the most important principle—for the Libertarian and among the domestic police is not to injure—to use force against noncriminals. There's an ancient maxim—I forget who said it—that it's more important to let a hundred criminals escape than to injure one innocent person, so (1) I would be totally opposed to injuring any noncriminal, and (2) if you shift from state war—interstate warfare—down to private warfare, the likelihood of doing that—of pursuing this kind of Libertarian noninjuring of civilians—will be greatly increased.

REASON: Let me ask, Leonard, whether there are any wars in which the United States has been involved that you could justify in terms of the role that's been played by American forces.

LIGGIO: Yes there is only one war in which the United States has played a justifiable role and that was the Revolutionary War. The American Revolution was one of the most dramatic and important moments in world history because the American people rose up against the Government, overthrew the Government, established local parallel institutions, through the Committees of Correpondence, through the Revolutionary Sons of Liberty in which they carried out direct attacks on the tax structure, on the military structure, on the monopoly organs of British Imperialism and attempted to wrest back into their own hands the determination of their own affairs. The Revolutionary War was successful because the American people pursued an essentially Libertarian policy of struggle against the British Government including a great deal of guerrilla warfare, political activity, political struggle and as a result were able to achieve self-determination and independence—and to make that struggle a guiding star to the process of revolutionary change that began in the late 18th century to challenge the whole system of feudalism, statism, imperialism—and which is a process that has continued to the present day on the one hand, and is a process that through the 20th century, at least, has been the object of assault and attack by the American Government. In this situation, the American people have at times acquiesced in their Government's policy of aggression and other times there have been magnificent struggles against the activities of the American Government and intervening abroad.

"There is only one war in which the United States has played a justifiable role and that was the Revolutionary War."

REASON: Murray, do you care to comment on Leonard's view that the only war in which the United States has been involved which could be justified is the Revolutionary war?

ROTHBARD: Yes, I agree 100% with that! The difference between the Revolutionary War and an interstate war is that, in the first place, an interstate war is a war of one government against another—it's a war that aggresses against the innocent civilians of the opposite government, it's a war that increases taxes at home, and conscription usually, to pay for it. Revolutionary war is a war against the state apparatus, a war from below by the armed public—it doesn't have to injure innocent civilians, and it usually doesn't. It often does not involve taxes or conscription—if it does, it does so on a very small scale. The American revolutionary effort didn't have any taxation even on a state level for the first few years of the Revolutionary war. In other words, put it this way—when you have a Revolutionary war against the existing state apparatus—say the American people against the British Crown and their collaborationists at home--now called compradores--the guerrilla revolutionary effort can pinpoint their attacks against the state apparatus—you see, they do the pinpointing, and they *have* to do the pinpointing. Well they can do it and they have to do it—in other words, they don't spray innocent people with machineguns, they don't H-bomb if they have the H bomb, their object is to zap the forces of the existing government of the Crown—the Crown officers and so forth.

On the other hand, the reason why they don't injure civilians is usually not just from moral reasons, but from basic strategic ones—that is, that no Revolutionary, no people's war can succeed unless it has the broad support of the mass of the population. Mao tse Tung and Che Guevara, of course, enunciated this—the thing was phrased as "The guerrillas are to the people as fish is to water." But actually Charles Lee saw this much earlier—he was the brilliant Revolutionary theorist who was the second in command to George Washington for the first few years of the American Revolution. He was a British soldier of fortune and Libertarian and sort of wandered all over the world picking up military insights. As soon as the American revolution broke out Lee rushed to the United States to help out in the war effort, and was immediately made second in command and Lee set the pattern for the American victory, not Washington—well, I won't go into that, but Lee set the pattern by pointing out that the American Revolution could only succeed as a people's war from below—a guerrilla struggle, if you will—against the superior fire power of the British Government. The Government's lacking the essential popular support, the guerrillas therefore *become* the people—the people become the guerrillas in the old battle ground of Lexington and Concord which victories were the first great American guerrilla action. The British, just as the Americans now in Vietnam, had very great difficulty distinguishing between the peasants and the guerrillas. They say they all look alike—well, they are alike, they are THEM. In other words, peasants in the daytime pick up the gun at night and pop the British soldiers, so—

JOEY ROTHBARD: Not the British soldiers.

ROTHBARD: Well, in the American Revolution, it was the British soldiers, in the Viet Nam war, it is the American soldiers, but the principle is the same. The interesting thing is that on the other hand, the counterrevolutionary forces, in other words, the Government battling against the Revolution has to do just the opposite: they have superior fire power for various reasons, they have the official army, but they don't have the support of the population—so in their kind of warfare, they *have* to amass genocidal terror against the civilian population, they try to break the morale of the civilians, try to cut their support off from the guerrillas and so forth. The Americans have done this with the infamous strategic hamlet policy in Viet Nam, herding the peasants into hamlets so that they couldn't support the guerrillas; the British did it in the Boer War in the early 20th century; the American Government did it in the Philippines in the early part of the 20th century; and I think the British would have done it in the Revolutionary war if they had had the resources to do so. The British actually carried on some of this, you know, though they had not carried counterrevolutionary warfare to its present height. But the principle is there so that if you have a revolution against the state apparatus, the revolutionary warfare—apart from the goals of the revolution or the counterrevolution—is almost necessarily Libertarian and the counterrevolutionary warfare is almost necessarily genocidal or anti-Libertarian.

REASON: Murray, how do you account for the reports of civilian atrocities committed by the Viet Cong and by the I.R.A. in Northern Ireland?

ROTHBARD: Well, the Viet Cong wipes out government tribal chiefs—who are appointed by the Government in Saigon—but not innocent civilians. The reports of Viet Cong atrocities in Hue were false—first, not as many civilians were killed as was claimed by the "kept" press. And most of the civilians who died were killed by American naval bombardment

when the Viet Cong took control of Hue. It wouldn't make any sense for the Viet Cong to kill innocent civilians.

In Northern Ireland, the I.R.A. on the whole has tried to pinpoint its targets. While they may have gotten a little careless, what I said before is basically still correct for the I.R.A. in the Catholic areas in Northern Ireland. The I.R.A. ordinarily will attack, say, only a post office, where British troops are located. The British, of course, rely on mass sweeps and other counterrevolutionary tactics in Catholic areas to get the I.R.A. leaders. I think the I.R.A. tends to be more terroristic in places like Belfast—in Protestant areas, where they don't have mass support.

REASON: Could you proceed, Murray, to state the basic elements of a proper Libertarian foreign policy?

ROTHBARD: Well, the basic elements of any Libertarian foreign policy for any government is to pressure the government to do nothing abroad, just to pack up shop and go home. General Smedely Butler, one of my great heroes, formerly of the Marine Corps, in the late 1930's proposed a constitutional amendment in *THE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION*. His article was a sensation for awhile but of course the amendment never was adopted and has now been forgotten. But it was kind of a charming constitutional amendment—I recommend that everybody read it. In essence it says something like this: no American soldier shall be sent any place over two miles outside the American shores, no American plane should be sent outside an American boundary and no American ship can be sent outside. In other words, complete abstinence from any kind of American military intervention and political and economic intervention.

REASON: You would be referring to American government planes, I assume—what about the commercial flights?

ROTHBARD: Oh yes, you know, abstinence from government intervention. It was the idea of Isolationism. The sneer against Isolationism always was that Isolationists were parochial, narrowminded characters who don't know that there is a world out there and want to hide their heads in the sand. In fact it's the opposite—the true principle of Isolationism is that the *government* should be isolated, the government should do nothing abroad and people who trade, interchange, and engage in voluntary travel, migration and so forth should be allowed to peacefully do so. *The idea is to isolate the government, not to isolate the country.* There's another aspect, of course; this would apply to any government, but the thing is there is also an extra aspect—empirically it so happens that the American government since the days of Woodrow Wilson has been the main threat to the peace of the world, the main imperialist, the main embarker on a policy of meddling in every conceivable country every place in the world to make sure their government shapes up properly. So that the policy of *American* isolationism is almost more important for Libertarian principle than any other country's isolationism.

REASON: There have been a number of Presidents that have been mentioned in the course of your statements—are there any American Presidents that you would single out as better than others, or Presidents that you regard as having been more or less in the Libertarian tradition?

ROTHBARD: Well I can't put the seal of approval on any American President fully, by the very nature of their office they begin to deteriorate—corruption takes place. Even Thomas Jefferson, one of my great heroes—Thomas Jefferson was a great theorist and a great advocate before he got in to the Presidency and after he got off the Presidency, but whilst he was in it he sloughed off a great deal. As a matter of fact, he paved the path for the War of 1812, unfortunately. So it's really a question of degree, of lesser evils here. I kind of have a fondness—well, I have a great fondness for Martin Van Buren. Probably the best American President was Martin Van Buren. He refused to intervene in the panic of 1837, and he tried desperately to institute a hard money policy to separate the banks completely from government. I admire Martin Van Buren. And I think Grover Cleveland's first administration has a lot to commend it—the second administration was already getting pretty imperialistic, and after Cleveland's first administration miasma sets in. I have a certain fondness for Warren Harding (1) because he wasn't around long enough to do much damage, and (2) because he did enunciate laissez faire principles—which Herbert Hoover was able to override, even when Harding was President. But outside of that the rest is chaos and disaster.

REASON: Was Harding involved at all in the growth of the federal reserve system—would you view him as being culpable in any respect as to the growth of Government intervention in monetary policy?

ROTHBARD: No he did not do very much. Wilson of course was the main culprit in the whole thing—he put in the federal reserve system. The big inflationary expansion in the 20's came with Calvin Coolidge. Harding did very little, I mean Harding did very little to roll back the federal system or anything like that. Harding spent his time playing poker, the only corruption taking place in the White House. It was kind of pleasant. I'm not saying he is a noble hero—a Libertarian hero—but at least he didn't advance the State any further.

"The basic elements of any Libertarian foreign policy for any government is to pressure the government to do nothing abroad—just to pack up shop and go home."

REASON: What about the role that was played by Calvin Coolidge—Silent Cal—could Coolidge be viewed as being one of the better figures or at least less damaging figures in American Presidents?

ROTHBARD: With Coolidge we get the statist corruption already. Of course in the true sense, it's not that Coolidge was so much active himself but Coolidge allowed Benjamin Strong—the Mephistophelean figure who was the head of the Federal Reserve Board—excuse me, head of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York—to run the Federal Reserve System as he saw fit, and Coolidge deliberately kept inflating the money supply and went on doing so. Strong's policy was expanding the money supply and jacking up the stock market. Every time the stock market would flag a little bit, Coolidge would issue a statement saying stock prices were too low and things like that. Ralph Robey, the laissez-faire economist, wrote an excellent article in the *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* in 1928 called "The Capeadors of Wall Street," showing how Coolidge and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon—every time the stock market would relax a little bit—used the function of the capeadors of the bull because they kept prodding the bull, "No, No, the stocks should go up further and America is in great shape," and so on. So Coolidge did not really snooze in the White House, I think that's an error. I think Harding snoozed.

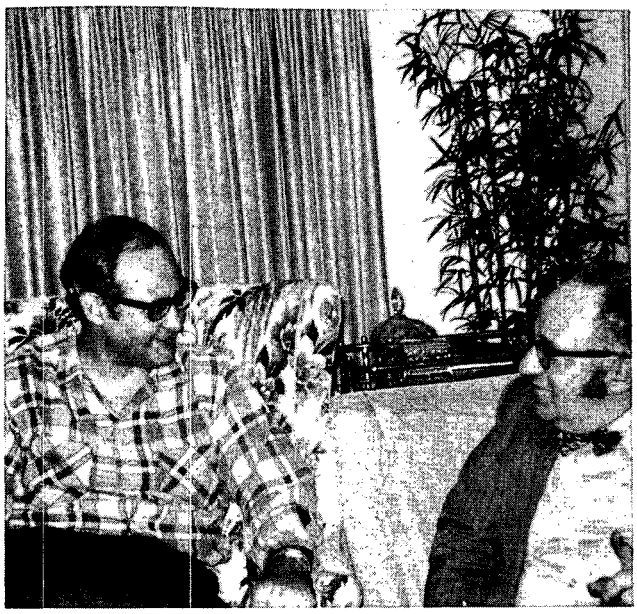
REASON: What about Herbert Hoover? There are a lot of American conservatives who regard Hoover as one of the last bastions of a President who believed in limited Government. You've written, Murray, on Hoover and implicated Hoover as being responsible for the New Deal in many ways more than F.D.R. himself. Would you care to comment on this?

ROTHBARD: It's a great myth that Hoover is the great champion of laissez-faire and that Roosevelt was the great New Dealer. The myth was propounded both by the Hoover disciples and the Roosevelt disciples, each for their different reasons. Actually Hoover was the first great New Dealer—he was one of the great theorists, visionaries of the corporate state, of promoting cartelism, of promoting monopoly, and of promoting the idea of heavy public works programs, inflationary policies—and of promoting the idea that if depression should ever strike, the President immediately should step in and intervene, keep wages up, increase purchasing power, do everything that the New Deal eventually did. There's not a single act that Franklin Roosevelt did that Herbert Hoover did not also do before him. Everything from the farm price support program which Hoover originated, the keeping wages high, inflation, deficits, even the NRA in embryo—although there he did not go that far. Hoover and Roosevelt were close friends, as a matter of fact, when they started out early in 1920. It was kind of, I think, characteristic—Hoover and Roosevelt—one of them was President, the other was Chairman of the Board, I forget which was which, of the American Construction Council, which was a trade association of the construction industry designed to monopolize—to restrict competition, keep up construction prices, limiting what they call unfair competition, and so forth. The idea was to have fair codes of practice—"fair codes" meaning, of course, they don't compete very much. Herbert Hoover was the originator of the idea of the codes, and when Franklin Roosevelt came in as President he put these codes in throughout industry and the NRA—the National Recovery Administration—so there was no real difference between Hoover and Roosevelt. Hoover was the progenitor of the thing.

What happened was just as with many revolutions—in the sense of radical changes in society—the founders of the revolution—you know, you find that events go past them. The onrush of collectivism—big business collectivism—of corporate statism, by 1932 in the business world and among intellectuals was so fast that it was too much for Hoover. Hoover wanted a sort of a gradual approach—Hoover liked at least the patina and rhetoric of voluntarism. This was being cast aside by Gerard Swope, the head of General Electric who introduced the so called Swope Plan, which was adopted by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, saying, we want an outright imitation of the Fascist mob, we want complete cartelization of American industry, abolition of competition and so forth and so on. Hoover just couldn't take it and so Hoover balked at the last step. And so if you focus only on the last step, you can say Hoover is more for laissez-faire, but aside from that act, Hoover and Roosevelt would be very, very similar.

REASON: What about the campaign that was run by Roosevelt when he ran against Hoover in the 1932 Election—is it true that Roosevelt actually campaigned on a program of limited government and rolling back the Hoover intervention and going back to a balanced budget?

ROTHBARD: Yes. You see the Republican Party had been—really for 100 years or more—they had been the "big government" party of high tariff support, large government spending, high taxes and so forth. The Democratic Party had been roughly the party of—I wouldn't say laissez-faire, but minimal government, less government. This Party was more in



favor of free trade, in favor of low budgets and so forth. This was true in the 20's too, and Roosevelt ran on a typical Democratic platform. He attacked the big government of Herbert Hoover, he attacked the heavy spending, he promised to roll it back and so forth. Of course he was obviously insincere—as soon as he came into power he immediately did just the opposite. But see, this was a remnant of the old Democratic Party, the old "Cleveland," shall we say, Democratic Party which really stems way back from Jackson.

REASON: If we come up to more current times, could you indicate, Murray, what your views are pro and con as to the Nixon presidency from the Libertarian perspective.

ROTHBARD: Oh dear. Well, I don't see any pro in the Nixon Presidency. From the Libertarian perspective President Nixon, like Hoover, sometimes uses free market rhetoric. But in practice, like Hoover—more than Hoover—more like Franklin Roosevelt I would say—I would say he's given the biggest impetus that collectivism-statism has had in the United States since Franklin Roosevelt. If you look down a list of Nixon policies: the introduction of wage-price controls, which now looks to be almost permanent—which even Roosevelt would never dare to institute in peacetime—the family assistance program which is essentially a guaranteed annual income scheme which will be disastrous—which will have disastrous economic consequences—the loans for Lockheed and SST and so forth, which set the precedent for something more drastic to come—of a Government policy to underwrite any failure on the part of business—for any sort of losses, the Government will step in. Some political scientist described Fascism as a system whereby business reaps the profits and the taxpayers underwrite the losses, and we are again getting very close to that kind of system. There is the permanentization of military spending and, looming on the horizon, there's imminent talk of National Health insurance and all the rest of it.

And in the foreign policy area, Nixon has been absolutely a disaster. He has been the acme of collective security. Every place in the world from Viet Nam, Ceylon and so forth, he's been a strategic disaster as well as a contentional disaster because he still has this patina of conservative rhetoric which makes the Conservatives follow him—most of them, with a few honorable exceptions, like sheep to the slaughter—and so he is able to get through Congress much more in the form of statist and socialist policies than an outright socialistic Democrat would. As a matter of fact when he got got into office Daniel Moynihan, as White House adviser, told Nixon he had a great opportunity to be an American Disraeli—in other words, he had a great opportunity to push through collectivist programs under guise of a conservative rhetoric and a conservative patina, which of course is what Disraeli had done. I think Nixon has been following that course.

REASON: How would you assess, Murray, the appointments that Nixon has made, say, to the United States Supreme Court, to the regulatory commissions, to the NLRB?

ROTHBARD: I haven't followed the appointments in detail except that it seems that, on balance, there's been an increase in statism in the sense that concern for civil liberty seems to be weakened—you know, concerning wiretapping, rights-of-the-accused sort of thing. I think Conservatives are happy with Nixon's judicial appointments because of the strong law and order connotation. On the other hand, law and order generally means, in this context, cracking down on the rights of accused people, allowing the police to beat up citizens and so forth—so there again you have an increase in statism.

REASON: The *WALL STREET JOURNAL* on April 24, 1972, had a front page story detailing Nixon's present economic thinking and the article stated that Nixon was presently entertaining economic ideas that were perhaps even more revolutionary than Franklin Roosevelt in terms of government participation in private enterprise and government cartels, with government taking a major role in terms of business relations. Do you have any information as far as Nixon's ideas in this direction today?

ROTHBARD: I can only repeat what I said before about that. I don't know whose economic advice he's really taking as far as that goes. Before August 15, 1971, all the economic advisers were dead set against price controls and he opposed them—and which person persuaded him or whether he himself did it is

"Probably the best American President was Martin Van Buren; . . . it's a great myth that Hoover is the great champion of laissez-faire—actually Hoover was the first great New Dealer; . . . and I would say Nixon has given the biggest impetus that collectivism-statism has had in the United States since Franklin Roosevelt."

hard to tell. Obviously the economic thrust of his position is leaning toward increasing statism.

REASON: What about in terms of foreign policy with respect specifically, Murray, to such items as the thawing of the Cold War, with respect to relations with Soviet Russia and Communist China—do you have any comments on that?

ROTHBARD: Well, I don't think the trips which Nixon took to China and Russia had any substantial effect. Esthetically, they were revolting as far as I am concerned—you know, with Nixon praising the great march forward of the Chinese people and all that sort of stuff. And I don't see anything concrete coming out of them. I'm happy that there does not seem to be any imminent war between us and Russia and China. There was a certain truth in the fact that in our quest to keep down Communist-led movements throughout the world, the Nixon and previous administrations have looked for some outside influence. One of the keys to American foreign policy during the Cold War has been that they are always searching for some outside puppet master—you know, there is never any indigenous population to worry about. If the Ruritanian Communists start stirring things up, it must be because Hanoi is directing them, or because China is directing them, or because Russia is directing them —because we can never conceive that the native population might have a real grievance—a real gripe—and that the gripe is being stressed through the Communist parties. So we are always looking for some sort of Fu Man Chu character who is somehow directing everything and pushing pins in a Board Room.

I think part of the reason for the current rapprochement with Russia and China is that we are desperately looking for them to try to tell the Vietnamese to lay low, to give up or to surrender in some way. I don't think they are going to succeed—for one reason, because Russia used to have the power to do this back in the Stalin days, and they don't have it any longer. One of the reasons they don't have it any longer is because the indigenous Communist Party has got burned so often by the orders and the compromises they undertook—they won't listen any more. I mean, Ho Chi Minh was betrayed three times by both America and Russia. In 1945, after the war was over, Ho Chi Minh should, by any kind of political standard, have taken over the Government. He was the obvious leader of the country, he had led the Resistance forces against the Japanese, he was supported by the Americans. Then he was induced by Russia to allow the French to come back supposedly temporarily—excuse me, I think it was the British to come back temporarily—and enter Vietnam. The British called the French back and the French turned upon Ho Chi Minh and slaughtered the Communist forces and they went up into the hills and started the great liberation struggle. Yes, the same thing happened in 1954 of course with the Geneva agreements, when Russia induced Ho Chi Minh to abide by the Geneva agreements—they said, "Well, you can trust the United States, you will have elections in two years and the country will be unified." As a result of that, Ho Chi Minh pulled his forces out of the South—for he had conquered most of the South—pulled his forces up across the parallel up in North Vietnam—and then we betrayed him again, so they are not going to listen any more. So I think that is a typical great power ploy which this time is not going to work.

REASON: Let me just ask a few more questions just to bring us up-to-date on the current political scene. What do you think is the most effective political strategy for the Libertarians today?

ROTHBARD: I mean, there's no high road to strategy. Strategy is an art. As the Marxists would say, we should be "doctrinaire in principle and flexible in strategy and tactics." There's no scientific royal road to know exactly what to do, but you can say—there are masses of people who are discontented, and properly so, with the breakdown of liberalism, with the crisis of the cities, with the crisis of high taxes, with inflation, with the permanent war in Vietnam—we can agitate against all these things and unite with the groups fighting these things, and on that basis also try to oppose these policies. I don't know what really could be said more than that except that we should try to advance the cause as much as possible in whatever areas we can.

REASON: Given the prospect of a Nixon-McGovern race, what do you think the Libertarians ought to do?

ROTHBARD: That's a very difficult question because there are Libertarians on every side of us. There are Libertarians in favor of not voting at all, there are Libertarians in favor of Nixon, in favor of McGovern and those in favor, you know, of putting your own name on the ballot, and there is a Libertarian Party candidate. I'm not very happy with any of these tactics, all of them seem to me so bad that it's difficult to choose—I don't think there's any firm choice that can be made. I think, from my own personal position—I think foreign policy is paramount—I think McGovern's foreign policy would be better than Nixon's, at least he'd get us out of the war in Vietnam and Indo China, reduce the military

spending and the whole military thrust so I suppose I might have to choose McGovern over Nixon—although it would be done with an enormous amount of pain for a while because McGovern's economics is horrendous. And the only thing we could then hope for is an extreme Right Wing Congress, which would block every conceivable domestic measure that the Government ever introduced. I don't know if that's likely to happen, but it's a choice of a great deal of evils there.

REASON: To the extent that a Republican President such as Nixon would be effective in silencing what might be expected to be the normal Republican opposition to interventionist governmental programs, do you think this would be a reason to oppose Nixon for re-election?

ROTHBARD: Yes, I think it would be a very good reason because, as you say—for McGovern's economic policies—if McGovern were in—the current Republicans who were backing very similar economic policies because Nixon is their President would then become opponents of it, and all of the Press would do the same thing. There would be a lot more opposition. McGovern couldn't get away with the stuff that Nixon's getting away with. I think that's very true. Also there's the question of the policy of simply kicking out the bad guy—I mean punishing the guy at least who's in power.

REASON: Well to follow up on that theme, Murray, what do you think about the notion that an incumbent politician should not be re-elected to office—that Libertarians should not vote for an incumbent for re-election unless he actually proves himself and demonstrates that he has done a fairly decent job?

ROTHBARD: Yes, I think other things being equal the incumbent should be punished for his sins, which are usually pretty great. Of course other things could overweigh that—but other things being equal, well whatever existing politician there is, he should be kicked out.

REASON: Specifically, Murray, what about the Libertarian Party and your view of the Hospers candidacy. Are you generally in favor of his candidacy or are you opposed to it?

ROTHBARD: I am opposed to the Libertarian Party candidacy for one reason: because I think it's ridiculous for 200 to 300 whatever people to run a candidate for the Presidency. Of course he is not going to win, nobody expects that. The educational value in setting forth Libertarian programs will be offset gravely by the sense of the public realizing it's a hopeless candidacy and therefore wouldn't take it seriously. I mean the Socialist Labor party, for example, a party which constantly runs people for Presidency since 18-whatever it is, and every year diligently puts up their Presidential candidate and Vice Presidential candidate and whatever—and they campaign very hard and they accomplish nothing because everybody considers it's a bunch of very small minority kooky people who obviously couldn't win a Presidency. I think, however, the educational value would be negative and it would hold the Libertarian principles up to certain ridicule because of that.

On a local level, however, I think there would be some use for a Libertarian party. I don't know there, it's a question of tactics, whether or not—I think it should be, you know, a strong local-level party. If you have, for example, an assembly district or a Congressional district where the Libertarians could command 5 or 10% of the vote, then I think it would be useful, have an educational value, the public would be impressed. For example, in New York State there is a Conservative party and a Liberal party, neither of which—of course the Conservative party has already elected a Senator—neither of which win too much, but are strong enough to have a balance of power and so they are taken seriously and they have a great educational value. So I don't like to see tiny parties—I'm not against third parties of that sort, but I'm afraid we are parting with a certain amount of strength.

REASON: Of course, not very long ago the McGovern candidacy was regarded as something that was very futile in face of the Muskie front-running campaign and the Wallace candidacy in many respects has been basically a protest movement. In this context, Murray, do you think that the educational value of running a Presidential candidate on the Libertarian party ticket might be something—could evolve—could become much more significant, even though right now it may look much more dim?

ROTHBARD: Well, it could eventually, but I don't think for the foreseeable future. This would be possible, but let's not forget that the McGovern-Wallace phenomena takes place within the major parties. I'm not very friendly with the major parties system, but I think we have to be realistic in not really founding any kind of a major Libertarian party effort until we are strong enough to have some sort of impact, and then you can flower and flourish from there.

REASON: Given the fact that the Libertarian party appears to be a reality—at least there are certain Libertarians who are committed to the idea of going forward and running a candidate for President—what's your response to the emergence of the Libertarian party and what would you recommend Libertarians to do in November given a choice say

between Nixon and McGovern and John Hospers?

ROTHBARD: That's a difficult question, I don't know if John Hospers would be on the ballot in very many states. I mean it wouldn't really be a choice since Hospers is not a credible candidate—since he has no chance of winning whatsoever, the real choice would be between McGovern and Nixon. Whether they should vote for Hospers or not in some sort of significant protest—I'm not sure, because I think in the present state of affairs if we get 900 people voting for Hospers throughout the country it's going to make the whole movement look ridiculous. For one thing, practically, there are a lot of Libertarians who are against voting at all, they have a principle against voting. I don't agree with that but I mean that a lot of them don't vote at all for other reasons, so that the people who will vote for Libertarian—for Hospers for President—will be much, much smaller than the total amount of Libertarian sentiment, so I think I would discourage the idea of the Presidential candidacy.

REASON: Let me ask one concluding question, Murray, what do you think of *REASON* magazine?

ROTHBARD: It's the best regularly appearing magazine in the Libertarian movement.

REASON: And may I ask Leonard Liggio one parting question. What do you think of *REASON* magazine?

LIGGIO: I think *REASON* magazine has some of the most thoughtful and well-researched articles dealing with concrete and practical matters that affect Libertarians and is a major contribution to raising consciousness of Libertarians in America.

REASON: That was so good I'm inclined to ask you some more questions. But we'll conclude for now. Thank you. ◻

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SOCIETY WITHOUT GOVERNMENT

A 20th-Century Example

ASLAM EFFENDI

Aslam Effendi is an advertising consultant, polemicist and publicist living in Pakistan. He writes for a broad spectrum of journals and newspapers. A student of Robert LeFevre, his peace campaigns have been praised by philosopher Bertrand Russell and Nobel Prize Winner Sir Norman Angell. His great great grandfather is generally considered by historians as the second greatest hero in Pakhtun history after Emperor Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Nearly all the economic unrest and human misery today is traceable to more than a hundred sovereign states scattered over the earth. Each state has its own system of government, its own army, its own artificial boundaries and custom barriers, its own currency, its own import and export policy and its own immigration laws. Each state tries to keep out the goods from other states. This leads to conflict and wars. Government interference with trade and the creative activities of individuals cannot lead to economic prosperity and a peaceful social order, free from crime and violence.

Formal governments have conditioned the minds of the masses through clever propaganda. People are made to believe that a society without policemen, law courts, and jails would lead to violence and anarchy. Many intellectuals today think that mankind can never survive without formal government. To them, this idea is purely utopian.

ISSUES POSED

A number of eminent lawyers have asked me to explain how contractual agreements could be honored in the absence of formal government and a law-enforcement agency. How would private property be protected and property boundaries fixed? How would all sorts of disputes be settled? How would such a free society deal with mob rule, an endless series of private feuds and vendettas, if the retaliatory use of force were left in the hands of individual citizens? How could roads and other facilities of common use be built in the absence of taxes?

PAKHTUN TRIBESMEN IN CENTRAL ASIA

Not very far from where I live are the Pakhtun tribesmen—the principal tribes being the *Mohmands, Waziris, Masudis,* and *Afridis.* They live an organized and peaceful life in the absence of formal government. These tribes are geographically sandwiched between countries having formal governments, countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The home of the Pakhtun tribesmen is on the crossroads of Central Asia, and mighty invaders and fortune seekers have marched through this territory to the rich plains of Hindustan in search of gold and treasures. The territory occupied by the Pakhtun is a narrow strip of land, approximately 35,000 square miles. In this area live ten million Pakhtun. In earlier days, none of the invaders dared to attempt to subjugate these people. On the contrary, they paid tribute before crossing the tribal belt. Alexander of Macedonia paid. So did Mahmud of Ghazni, Babur the Mughal, and many others. The British conquered the whole of the Hindustan sub-continent, but left the Pakhtuns alone.

Why did these military adventurers and fortune seekers ignore the land of the Pakhtuns, especially since it is rich in mineral wealth, including fabulous emeralds, rubies, and sapphires? The answer is readily seen. The Pakhtuns believe that political institutions and formal governments are a hoax. They believe that a government's main objective is to gain control over the lives of others for economic exploitation. Hence, any military adventurer would have endless trouble if he attempted to rule over a people who simply refuse to submit to political authority.

The Pakhtuns don't believe in any form of taxation, and don't have any tax records. Imagine the predicament of an invader faced with this situation. The would-be conqueror would find the area a liability, for how could a hold over these people be maintained in the absence of taxes? How would he deal with the Pakhtuns when each man is a born soldier armed to the teeth? Imagine the fate of a tax collector who went to these people from door to door demanding taxes. He would be looked upon either as a lunatic let loose from a mad house, or a daylight robber. The Pakhtuns have never lived under any formal government within historical times.

SLAVES OF TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Although the Pakhtuns have managed to protect themselves against government tyranny, they are, unfortunately, slaves of some outdated and antiquated social customs and traditions which conflict with intellectual liberty. For example, a youth generally doesn't even see the girl he is to marry. Marriages are usually arranged by the parents, sometimes long before the boy or girl has reached puberty. Once married, the Pakhtun has to live with his wife whether he likes her or not. Divorce is frowned upon as something unthinkable and shameful. It is ironic that the world's freest people are the slaves of their own traditions and private practices, and deny themselves freedom of choice in one of the most vital areas of life, sex.

The Pakhtun tribal society is not an ideal society and is not totally free. There are a number of practices in the Pakhtun tribal society which could be seriously questioned. Their major advantage is their individual liberty. They have avoided the tyranny of government.

LIVING WITHOUT FORMAL GOVERNMENT

Compare the life of an average Pakhtun with the life of a fellow human being living under formal government. For convenience, we shall name the Pakhtun living in the tribal area *Azad Khan;* the other we shall call *Ghulam Khan.*

Azad Khan (if he so desires) can drink liquor or distil it without any permit or license. He can also smoke marijuana or eat opium; he can cultivate and stockpile these items without obtaining a license from anybody. He can grow any crop; he can set up any business without challenge. He can keep gold; he can maintain a gun without any license. He need fear no policeman, for there are none. He needn't fear jail, for there are no prisons. He can talk about anything. He can write anything. There is no censorship. He doesn't have to bribe any bureaucrat for favors. He controls himself and is responsible for his own actions; he will reap as he sows. If he makes a mistake in business, only he suffers. Others are not required to pay for his folly or miscalculation. He is not subservient to government regulations, ordinances, or statutes, framed by ambitious politicians and bureaucrats. Nobody dares confiscate his property or land. He doesn't have to worry about taxes. There isn't a single tax in his home land. He can do anything he likes except injure another; nor can he obtain a monopoly or enjoy special privileges. These evils arise only under formal governments. Indeed, Azad Khan walks like a lion over the earth, with his shoulders thrown back, unburdened by governmental restrictions and tyranny.

LIFE UNDER GOVT. CONTROL

In contrast, Ghulam Khan, living under formal government, is physically, morally, and intellectually a poor specimen. He is born by permission and lives by toleration. He is a coward generally. He is terrorized by the police and prisons. He can't engage in business or organize an industry without a license. He doesn't have the right to pay his labor what he thinks is just, nor can he decide how many hours an employee must work. Bureaucrats make all these decisions.

He can't write what he believes to be true. He has no freedom of speech. His letters are censored. Intelligence operatives follow his every move should they suspect him of being a threat to the engine of tyranny, the government. He isn't allowed to make his financial position secure by saving gold. He must be satisfied with paper money, and its purchasing power diminishes with inflation. He is crushed under a growing burden of taxes; the more those in political power waste it, the more he is required to replenish the state exchequer.

Every year new legislation, ordinances, and statutes are framed, depending on the whims and moods of those in political power. If a politician declares war, Ghulam Khan is required to pay for all the hostilities whether he likes it or not. But he is never consulted before such costly and destructive projects are launched.

Ghulam Khan is even required to pay for his own enslavement. This he does by paying more and more taxes for maintaining a tyrannical police force and army. He dare not keep a gun for his own defense without a license. If he kills another individual, he is imprisoned and treated as a murderer. But if the army, whose equipment Ghulam Khan has financed, kills millions of human beings, each soldier is considered heroic.

Every year Ghulam Khan is required to pay more and more for the protection of his life and property, yet each year he finds life becoming less secure and his property is increasingly threatened by governmental intrusions. Should Ghulam Khan die tomorrow, he would even be taxed after his death—there is an exaction on property called "death duty." Ghulam Khan's life from birth to death is a nightmare.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Pakhtun law is based on local traditions, customs, and the Koran. Disputes are settled through the *jirga* (a meeting of tribal elders). At the village level there is usually a jirga of four members—two representing each party to the dispute—and a fifth is elected by the four. He is called *mashar* or senior, and both

parties have confidence in his impartiality. He has the right to cast a deciding vote. This arrangement involves no legal expenses, nor do cases drag on for years as in formal courts. No police force is required to enforce the decision of the jirga, for according to tribal custom all parties must respect the decision of those voluntarily chosen to decide disputes. Expulsion or ostracism provides social discipline—and nobody can afford to be expelled from such a social order.

Next, there is the *illagai* jirga (or district jirga), which decides matters dealing with a whole district. Finally, the *loi* jirga, or big jirga, handles inter-tribal affairs: representatives of all the tribes participate once a year and decide complicated cases; most of the members are *alim-i-deen*, or theologians.

RESPONSE TO MURDER

In case of murder, the tribal institution of *badal* (retribution) automatically comes into play, and this acts as a marvelous check on crime. If anyone does murder, he does so for very strong reasons. There is one murder in the tribal belt for every 100 in areas having formal governments. Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs, for instance, have always lived in peace in tribal society, while they are the deadliest of enemies, butchering one another, under formal governments.

It is generally believed that once a murder occurs in the tribal belt, this would be followed by feuds and vendettas. Endless retaliation occurs among the Pakhtuns living under formal governments, but never among the tribal Pakhtuns. For instance, if Ajab Khan murders Bahadur Khan, then Bahadur's nearest relative avenges his (Bahadur's) murder. Once retributory action has been taken (which, of course, has no formal sanction), both parties are required thereafter to forego a feud or vendetta, failing which they would be asked to pay a heavy penalty to the *qaumi khazana* or tribal fund; but no Pakhtun would be compelled to make that payment. Anyone who refuses to pay simply forfeits the good will of the tribe and would find that other tribesmen would not come to his defense if he were attacked. If he faced a danger, the tribe would not interfere for they would assume that he had voluntarily refused to pay for what protection he could afford. If payment is made, it is made in cash or in produce. The size of the payment is adjudged as adequate in relation to the means of the individual involved. Those who have no property need not pay at all. No one is ever imprisoned for nonpayment as there are no jails in the tribal belt.

The inter-tribal feud, where fire is exchanged on both sides, is halted through the tribal institution of *tiga* or truce. Not a shot is fired thereafter—so unlike the cease-fires under formal governments which are violated repeatedly.

Various practical measures are adopted to prevent feuds. One is a ceremony called *kana.* The elders of the tribe bury a stone (kana) and thereafter no one will dare to commit a murder nor indulge in a blood feud so long as the stone remains buried. The tribesmen have great respect for this custom, which appeals to the conscience of each individual.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY

How secure is private property in Pakhtun society? For centuries the Pakhtuns have been land owners. Nobody dares grab another's land in Pakhtun society, for everybody knows his land boundaries; and if he forgets, his neighbors know. Disputes, if any, are quickly settled through the tribal institution of *jirga* (meeting of tribal elders). Such a society is only possible if there is complete respect for one another's property, and no insult is greater to a Pakhtun than being deprived of his land, gun, or wife.

Life, honor, and property are more safe in the tribal area than anywhere else on earth. Property isn't safe even in the USA, for every year the government seizes an average of 1.7 million acres of land from private individuals under one pretext or another. In most countries, governments have been confiscating private lands under the cover of "land reforms." But take an inch of land from a Pakhtun and see what happens. The Pakhtuns believe that human freedom is interlinked with property ownership.

RULE OF HOSPITALITY

Hospitality is a major factor in Pakhtun life and the customs relating to it are universally supported. Anyone coming into the area, even if he is fleeing powerful enemies, will be treated like an honored guest if he manages to be invited into a home. The rule of hospitality is carried to such an extreme that if a murderer enters the home of the very man he has murdered, he is treated as an honored guest so long as he remains under that roof.

In the recent past the Pakhtuns have been accused of maintaining a "lawless society," of kidnapping school children and demanding ransom from the parents, of stealing scooters and automobiles and then fleeing into their territory, thus escaping "the long arm of the law."

FEAR OF GOVERNMENT

Pakhtuns are accused of being against progress because they will not allow government men to build roads, schools, or hospitals. They fear these actions by government, believing they will lead to political intrigue. At one time, and in violation of the wishes of the tribespeople, the British used this territory for

(Continued on p. 26)

Knowledge, Control, and Ownership

DOUGLAS DEN UYL

"The significance of property ownership has rarely been appreciated. All sentient life is concerned with property, either instinctively or rationally. No organism capable of volitional action can escape the demands arising within it for some kind of property relationship. Survival of all beings capable of consciousness is predicated directly upon some kind of property relationship."[1]

This article will deal with the question of why sentient life (especially man) is by nature concerned with property. Following the lead of Ayn Rand I hope to show that private property epistemologically stems from the nature of man. What this means is that this article will try to prove that *private property is the necessary outcome of the nature of man's relationship to the items around him.*

"FROM-TO" ANALYSIS

With Objectivist epistemology in the background the full impact of this thesis may be more easily supported by parts of Michael Polanyi's interesting little book *THE TACIT DIMENSION.*[2] Polanyi's discussion of the from-to character of perceptual consciousness is most important for a clear understanding of the man/property relationship.

One can best see Polanyi's point by a few examples. In any form of perceptual awareness we integrate *from* a set of perceptual clues *to* a coherent entity.[3] Objectivists claim that the faculty providing the integration is reason. If so, then it is reason which brings us from any clue set X to coherent item Y. Perhaps a concrete example from Polanyi will make this point clearer:

> It is the coherence of a thing that makes us attribute reality to it. We commonly recognize its coherence at a glance by merely looking at a real thing. I look at my right hand as I move it about in front of me, and I see a thousand rapidly changing clues as one single, unchanging object moving about at changing distances, presenting different sides at variable angles in variable light. The integration of innumerable, rapidly changing particulars makes us see a real object in front of us.[4]

This *from-to* structure is applicable not only to visual perception but to all other perceptual channels as well.

CONCEPT OF SENTIENT BEING

With this in mind one may well want to ask about what we do when we bring something from the clues to our integrative faculty. In answering this question we must suppose the concept of a sentient being, for without an integrating entity doing the perceiving the concept of perception is meaningless. Moreover, we must also assume that this sentient being is capable of having these perceptions. Thus it seems clear that the body is the medium through which the clues are transmitted to our integrative faculty. To use Polanyi's phrase this is what gives us the feeling of "being in one's body." Since we have an integrative faculty, that faculty tends to separate itself from the whole body for a particular part at a particular time. If asked to think of one's *whole* body, one will normally feel as if his mind is being surrounded by something. This is the feeling of "being in one's body." Because the integrative faculty draws upon the body, the body may also be viewed as a source of from-knowledge.

"Having identified the feeling of being in one's body with from-knowledge of the body, one can look upon all from-knowledge as akin to the sense of being in one's body. In this sense, then, to make something function subsidiarily is to interiorize it, or else pour one's body into it."[5] Simply put, the above passage may be summed up under the concept of "familiarization." "Interiorization" is Polanyi's concept for the method by which we familiarize. Familiarization, in this context, denotes that general feeling we have after the objects have been repeatedly interiorized. Consider, for instance, the difference in your overall feeling between entering your own house and a

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stranger's. By a process of interiorization the objects of your own house have become a part of you whereas those objects of a stranger's house have not. The above quote mentioned the process of "pouring one's body" into objects. At first, this may appear to be an extremely dubious metaphor. However, sit down and pick up a pen and start writing. Now ask yourself where the main focus of your perception lies. It is not where your hand is touching the pen but rather the point where that pen contacts the writing surface. *You have poured your body through the shaft of the pen to the point.* In short, the process of interiorization is really often a type of body extension.

EXPECTATION AND MANIPULATION

It may appear that we are a long way off from the concept of private property. However, the relevance of this analysis will soon be apparent. Consider for a moment what one is actually doing in the process of interiorization. If we are right in maintaining that we "extend" our bodies to objects outside ourselves, then we must also be saying that we have gained some kind of control or mastery over those objects. The first place we gain control is over our own bodies. We come to know how the parts function. On a basically perceptual level, learning to do something is a process of body coordination with an object's action manifestations. For example, a beginning water skier is unable to control his skiis. He has not yet learned to coordinate certain parts of his body with the physical nature of the skiis. Eventually he will interiorize the skiis such that control of them will be a rather easy process. We are now able to see that control is a concept involving fundamentally a twofold function. The two functions are, (1) expectation, and (2) manipulation. Control over any object X involves knowing what it does or can do (expectation) and then being able to direct those types of actions when one desires (manipulation). In the very early years of life our body probably happens to us, i.e., things are going on in our body which we are aware of but which we do not control. Eventually, and perhaps simultaneously, we come to expect certain bodily phenomena and then to manipulate them. Our first stage of control, then, is over our own body. If the thesis of from-to knowledge and interiorization is correct, it is a simple matter of logic for one to see that the next area of control is our environment. Control of environment begins with bodily control of interiorized items.[6]

CONTROLLING ONE'S SITUATION

Human beings like to be in control. The feeling of perplexity, which we regard as uncomfortable, is a sign that there is some area in which we are not in control. However, this is not because we want to *feel* in control as much as it is an implicit awareness that we *must* be in control. The only way man can act effectively with the objects of his environment is to have some measure of control over those objects. To be out of control is to change intentional doing to external happenings. Individuals seek control so that things do not happen to them. Since man's goal directedness comes about by choice[7] that which happens to us impedes our movement toward our goals. This is true whether our goal is long range (being a pianist) or very short range (picking up a pen).

At this point one may object that we are not always in control because there are many things we expect but do not or could not manipulate. Does not this refute the thesis that we must be in control? Obviously not. In the first place there are things we cannot control because of lack of knowledge (such as the weather). Weather changes thus happen to us. There are other things which we do not control but conceivably could control, such as running General Motors. In both cases, however, we can, are, and often must be in some kind of situational control. On one level all we have is expectation, i.e., GM policy set X. Situational control, however, is control of our own situation such that those areas in which we have no firsthand control are brought into a relation to our own situation to our own best advantage. In other words, we buy or not buy GM products, accept their advertising in our newspaper, or simply convince our friends that GM products are good or bad. At any point in time our own situation is somewhat different from the one we were in previously. During each point we are affected and are doing some affecting. (I am using the term situation here to mean all that which is associated with us—past or present.) In this light we are now able to see that the way we control our own situation has a very important relationship between what our future situation will be. What we want, what we can have, and what will happen to us, depend directly upon how we control our present situation and how we are able to anticipate coming situations.

CONCEPT FORMATION

Up to this point we have left untouched an important aspect of control—concept formation. Unfortunately we can only sketch its importance here since this is the most complex area. Even a semi-complete discussion would require another article. Basically, however, concept formation is a process of abstraction and integration.[8] One will quickly recognize that this is from-to knowledge on a different level from pure perception. We abstract from particulars and integrate them into the coherent entity. Because concepts are rooted in reality, situational control depends upon proper placement of concepts in their appropriate context. Since a concept is united by a single definition the context in which it is placed

stems largely from its genus and differentia. The genus is the extension function while the differentia is the limiting function. For example, the concept "table" is conceptually extended by having the genus "furniture" which itself is extended by its own genus, etc. The concept's limiting function is its shape.[9] Since we know that concepts are rooted in reality and how they relate to each other, we are able to use the extension/limitation aspect of concepts to determine what we are doing and what we want to do. In the first case (knowing what we are doing), concepts are used as tools of recognition and description in order to place ourselves in a situation, i.e., in relation to other objects. In the second case (knowing what we want to do), concepts are the tools by which we guide our actions because concepts identify particular natures and therefore their known possibilities. Thus, one can see that concepts serve as the "pockets" in which interiorized items are placed. Consequently, concept use is, (1) the general spring of human doing, (2) the end product of interiorization, and (3) organizational units of environmental and bodily items. If what we have said has a spark of truth, one can easily see why Ayn Rand and many other Aristotelian thinkers place such a high premium on concepts.

CONTROL OF PROPERTY

Thus far we have mentioned property very little. This is because we needed to spell out, in some detail, certain epistemological theories to which the notion of property can be tied. Most people view property as something which they or someone else owns. This does not provide us with much that is controversial for that which is property is "owned" collectively or individually. Nor is the question of *who* owns property necessarily the most important. A great deal of wind would be taken out of the sails of libertarianism if it could be shown that collective use of property is the most beneficial to all. What is really being challenged by most libertarians is how property is controlled. The great virtue of the libertarian thesis is that, not only is collective ownership of property detrimental to some but that it is detrimental to all. If use of property means control over the items of the environment then one can readily see that statements to the effect that collective ownership of property is wrong stem from a recognition that, epistemologically, collective ownership means property out of control.

One may want to object that the state does exert control, only it is the wrong type of control. This statement is generally, though not entirely, false. The reason is that force is a primitive tool for setting things in a certain direction where the nature of what is being dealt with is not understood. This perhaps is too simple a generalization for the complex coercion of the state. Yet as a basic example consider the success of the Fabians as opposed to the violent Marxian socialists. The Fabians readily understood the nature of what they were dealing with.[10]

IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL

Property is the product of man's need for interiorization and control. Interiorization and control are functions of *individuals.* Because society is not an entity but a collection of individuals two aspects follow (1) property, i.e., the need for control of objects in the environment, is naturally rooted in each individual's nature and is necessary for his survival, and (2) there thus is virtually no control when property is collectively owned or utilized by means of force. This does not deny the possibility of collective property nor the possibility of being a part of such an endeavor. What it does say is that on any level above a primitive existence such a system will not sustain itself.

Those areas that are "publicly" owned still implicitly recognize our principle by employing some form of the division of labor. The method of division of labor is the social method of systematizing spheres of control. It is individual man that does the controlling along with his voluntary associations.[11] Voluntary division of labor provides the only framework whereby each individual controls that sphere which he is generally best at and which works to his advantage. Coercive divisions of labor, such as socialism, corporate liberalism, etc., deny the possibility of the fullest extension and refinement of spheres of control. These systems arrest this process by turning men into zombies, in effect, who mechanically perform actions already set down for them. Since this is true, one will come to realize that, contrary to Marxist dogma, society left alone would evolve towards a more perfect form of Capitalism and not Socialism.

WORK TO BE DONE

Much work is yet to be done in the area of an epistemological defense of Capitalism. Here we have only touched upon what I believe to be the most important relationships of man to his environment. We have left unaswered such questions as to why some individuals are better able to extend their spheres of control. Moreover, we have only skimmed the effects of collective ownership. Perhaps, also, what has been said here will provide more evidence for an ethic of rational self interest. In any case, an underlying purpose of this article was to promote interest in these topics and thus to stimulate discussion. It is my hope that this article has been at least partly effective along those lines. ◻

(See p. 26 for Notes and References)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Robert Le Fevre, *THE PHILOSOPHY OF OWNERSHIP* (Rampart College Press, 1971), p. 1.
[2] Michael Polanyi, *THE TACIT DIMENSION* (Anchor Books, 1967), Chs. 1 & 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[4] Michael Polanyi, *AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST,* Vol. 23, p. 28 (1968).
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[6] Each new environment we enter provides us with an example of this.
[7] Ayn Rand, *THE VIRTUE OF SELFISHNESS* (Signet Books, 1964), p. 9.
[8] Ayn Rand, *INTRODUCTION TO OBJECTIVIST EPISTEMOLOGY* (Objectivist Inc.), p. 15.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[10] For a very well documented but rather poorly written source, see *THE GREAT DECEIT* (Veritas Foundation, 1964).
[11] Voluntary associations are efficient because spheres of control come into contact in such a manner that each individual retains his control of the sphere he knows best, though often in a modified form.

(Continued from p. 22)

training military men and generals. The result was a continuous conflict. In order to deal with the problem, the British appointed bureaucrats known as "political agents" whose task was to bribe the chiefs of the various tribes, or to play one off against the other, in order to cause them to seek protection from formal government. This practice is continuing to date.

The more nearly one comes to the center of the Pakhtun strip, the more peaceful life becomes. Nearly all of the conflicts arise in the areas next to formally maintained political boundaries. One of the reasons for this relates to an unwritten tribal custom. Any person fleeing government from either direction is given full tribal hospitality and will not be surrendered to the political authorities. This leads to constant friction in the border areas, and to considerable contentment as one moves away from the borders.

Some politicians are now demanding that the Pakhtun tribal areas be merged with existing states under formal government control in order to put an end to this "lawless society." It doesn't occur to them that kidnapping, theft, and robbery are carried on by criminals living under formal governments and in connivance with the local police. The criminals within the organized states perform their crimes and then seek refuge in the tribal belt.

ECONOMICALLY BACKWARD

If Pakhtun society without formal government is good, then why are the Pakhtuns economically backward? Obviously, because they are encircled by a tight ring of custom barriers, check posts, and armed guards. The only way a Pakhtun can carry his goods to markets where they are in demand is through smuggling. If government restrictions at the borders were removed, it would be reasonable to predict a rise in the standard of living. By western standards, the lot of the Pakhtun is poor, but nonetheless his standards are higher than those of neighboring people.

How do the Pakhtuns deal with matters of common interest such as road building and irrigation in the absence of formal government? The answer is simple: through voluntary contributions to the *qaumi* khazana or tribal fund.

WHY GOVERNMENT?

A great part of mankind is still superstitious. Many believe the myth that formal government is the best agency to protect individual rights and provide security. I have often wondered what people mean by "security," for during the past 5,000 years of human history, formal governments have been responsible for at least 1,500 wars—that is to say, an average of almost one war every three years! During the First World War some 20,000,000 human beings were killed; during the Second World War, some 50,000,000. Today, governments can wipe out more than 300,000,000 people on three continents within less than sixty minutes. According to a 1962 report, governments spend $117,000,000,000 on armaments every year. This is the amount government spends to defend men from other men. This amount is extracted by force from peaceful citizens in the name of taxation. Do these figures justify the existence of governments? Do these figures make it plain enough why the Pakhtuns hate taxation? Do these figures explain why the Pakhtuns hate formal government?

Some political theorists downgrade monarchy and dictatorship and maintain that the answer is found in a democratic or republican form of government. Others talk about one-world government to insure freedom and peace.

I have lived under every conceivable form of government. I have lived under a maharajah. I have lived under a dictator. I have lived under a republican form of government as well as a democracy. I have even lived under a theocracy, but one thread runs through them all. It is the denial of freedom through the economic exploitation of the individual. How right philosopher Voltaire was when he said: "What difference does it make to a poor man whether he is devoured by a lion or by a hundred rats."

Davis E Keeler

FREE MONEY
And Other Problems

The combination of inflation and taxation is a marvelous mix. When you add government regulation of interest rates, the results can be bizarre.

To take a simple situation, let us assume a 4% annual rate of inflation. The government, in its majesty, has decreed that demand savings deposits should pay no more than about 5% p.a. interest. On a one hundred dollar account, we come out with these figures:

Principal	$100.00
Interest @ 5%	5.00
less:	
Inflation @ 4%	4.00
Earnings	$ 1.00

There are probably worse things than earning one percent on your money, as any Penn Central shareholder will tell you. Of course, the preceding figures were pre-tax earnings. If our saver is in the 35% bracket, he still has to figure his tax on the full, inflated-dollar figure, thus:

Principal	$100.00
Interest @ 5%	5.00
less:	
Inflation @ 4%	4.00
Earnings (pre-tax)	1.00
Tax:	
35% of $5.00	1.75
Net Earnings (loss)	($ 0.75)

This is what the economist euphemistically calls a negative rate of return. It could also be called the expropriation of the small saver. Whatever you call it, it is not an incentive to thrift.

In a free market situation, of course, inflation would be just another variable in the millions of individual calculations which comprise the market price of interest and rates would reflect depreciation of the currency just as they reflect time preference and risk. Where free markets in money exist, this is the case; the small saver today, however, is "protected" by ceilings on interest rates which effectively prevent him from receiving a realistic rate of return on his savings. In fact, as we saw above, it may result in an annual *loss* on these savings. These controlled rates restrain only the small saver; the larger saver, with blocks of $100,000 or so at his disposal, has a variety of free market rates to choose from to achieve a more realistic of return.

The "protection" afforded the small saver is of questionable value as he loses each year through inflation and controlled bank rates more than was lost in all the bad old days of free banking. It is simply one more example of the folly of attempting to "protect" a person by depriving him of his freedom to look after himself.

One obvious consequence of holding down interest paid to savers is to decrease the costs to borrowers. In the case of borrowers, the arithmetic above works in reverse:

Principal borrowed	$100.00
Interest rate @ 7%	7.00
less:	
Inflation @ 4%	4.00
Real Interest Cost	$ 3.00

This, of course, is also a *pre-tax* figure. For reasons of policy, all interest expenses are tax deductible, so our borrower in the 35% bracket gets a tax deduction on the full inflated interest rate, thus:

Principal borrowed	$100.00
Interest rate @ 7%	7.00
less:	
Inflation @ 4%	4.00
Real interest cost	3.00
Tax deduction:	
35% of $7.00	2.45
Net real rate	$ 0.55

Needless to say, if either the rate of inflation *or* the tax rate of the borrower is slightly higher, the net real rate can easily be negative. This is true, for example, in our case above when the borrower's tax rate reaches the 45% bracket or the rate of inflation reaches 4½%.

These very low (or negative) net real rates of interest are not future hypotheticals; they have been a fact for several decades. Using average building society interest rates, standard tax rates, and government inflation figures, researchers at Manchester University arrived at these figures for net real rates of interest on home loans in England:

Year	%	Year	%
1949	0.93	1960	1.62
1950	-1.29	1961	1.10
1951	-5.56	1962	1.73
1952	-3.38	1963	1.89
1953	0.36	1964	1.01
1954	0.08	1965	0.71
1955	-1.73	1966	1.13
1956	-1.48	1967	1.60
1957	-0.23	1968	1.87
1958	0.47	1969	-0.31
1959	2.39		

These figures, which should not be too greatly different from the US results, suggest a few interesting points.

To begin with, the supply of newly built housing is relatively inelastic. This means that the low (and sometimes negative) cost of mortgage borrowing which serves to drive up the demand for more and better quality housing has the effect of increasing the purchase price of homes. Thus, homeowners receive a steady capital appreciation on their home, over and above the normal increase due to a rise in the general price level. Since most homeowners qualify for the non-recognition provisions of the tax law, this artificially induced capital appreciation usually escapes the income tax entirely.

On the subject of taxation, the individual who uses his savings to buy a heavily mortgaged home also has the advantage over his more prudent neighbor who puts it away in a savings account because the mortgagor pays no tax on the rental value of his home, while the saver must pay tax on his "earnings" before he pays his rent.

Ecologists will realize that this subsidization of home ownership has the effect of accelerating the urbanization of the countryside. By lowering the cost of housing for young couples, it is also possible that young families are encouraged to expand their families sooner than they might otherwise do.

Because the benefits of low-to-negative interest rates and built-in capital appreciation increase with time, they serve to benefit the older homeowner over the more recent. The newer homeowner will

thus pay proportionately more of his income for housing than will a longer-established homeowner.

It can even be said that these artificially low home loan rates, for the reasons above mentioned, have the effect of impeding entry into homeownership by the poor and minorities by increasing the initial purchase cost.

Should real estate taxes on homes ever be significantly reduced or eliminated, this would be of course an additional, one-time capital gain benefit to existing homeowners.

If any conclusions are to be drawn from the foregoing, they would include the usual one that government intervention in the market invariably produces unwelcome side effects, frequently quite the opposite of those intended by its advocates. For another, home ownership, real estate taxes notwithstanding, appears as a largely favorable vehicle for forced saving investment, particularly for higher bracket taxpayers with older mortgages. Thirdly, a number of independent government policies, including inflation, all point to increasing the real dollar and/or nominal dollar value of home ownership. Fourthly, none of those policies seems likely to be reversed in the foreseeable future.

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foreign correspondent

Buenos Aires, Argentina

As I cleverly predicted in the October '71 issue of *REASON,* general elections shall be held in Argentina this March. Besides making me a wise prognosticator, these elections symbolize the failure on an experience typical of the 60's and early seventies: a military regime, with order, efficiency and economic development as main objectives. An experience successful in Brazil—thanks to the alliance of the Army with a group of intelligent and free-enterpriser "technocrats"—which could not be reproduced here in Argentina, due—in part—to deep political/historical/ideological divisions among Argentine people.

Who will be the next President? The hell if I know. But it certainly will *not* be the candidate of the "Nueva Fuerza" (trans. "New Force", hereinafter called NF) about which *REASON* questioned me last Fall. On September 29, I resigned my affiliation to the NF. I shall explain, I hope.

NF was recently founded as a coalition of several groups: 100% of the party of ex-Economy Minister Alsogaray, 50% of the old Conservative Party of the two major electoral districts (city and Province of Buenos Aires) and some refugees from others (ex-followers of late ex-President Aramburu, ex-rightist Christian Democrats, etc.). This may sound impressive but it is not, since Alsogaray never obtained more than 2% (yes, 2%) of the total votes and the conservatives even less in precisely those two electoral districts.

At present, NF is the Party of the Right. Big Business is obviously behind the great cost of its unique publicity campaign—unique both because of its size and its relative originality. It surely is the most vocal "free-enterprise" party, but orthodoxy is not one of its virtues: I am reading a pamphlet on the seven fundamental proposals of the Party, two of which are an unemployment and medical insurance, both to be paid compulsively by employers.

When it was founded, it seemed possible that it could become a wide-open party, with popular vocation and libertarian possibilities. Regrettably, today it is a well-oiled publicity machine, increasingly infiltrated by the so-called "gorilas" (staunch, old-fashioned anti-Peronists) and without any clear ideas on noneconomic matters (and, insofar as they propose something outside the economic area, they are generally "conservative" if not downright "reactionary", from a libertarian point of view). Apparently they are trying to represent the "silent majority", without realizing that here it is *not* a "majority" and showing a certain "anti-intellectual bias", not encouraging to many.

Its practical possibilities are difficult to discern, given the extremely fluid, flexible political situation we are living. All parties are more or less in crisis, there have been no elections in the past 8 years and many surprises may come out on election night. One of the possible surprises, might be a sizable vote for the NF in the first round of about 500,000/1 million votes (we shall use the "ballotage" system, by which if the winner does not obtain at least 50% of the votes, a new election is held, a fortnight after, but restricted to the two or three major contenders). But a minimum of 4 million votes are necessary to win, approximately; therefore, no serious chances exist for NF, besides that of being a major opposition party and/or helping decisively another candidate in the second round.

The basic fact of these elections is that ex-Dictator Peron still commands influence over approximately 3/4 million voters, with about 50% of them ready to go and jump into the Ocean if he says so. Because of his exile, he is not permitted, until today, to be a candidate; then, the most important single question is, who will Peron back? There is no doubt that if Peron's decision is clear and not entirely ridiculous, the result is obvious.

SCENARIOS

With that in mind, the following scenarios might be drawn:

(1) The Peronists, in alliance with ex-President Frondizi and other small neo-rightist groups, and behind a non-Peronist candidate, will easily win. Second comes, in this case, either the traditional Radical Party (nationist, interventionist, statist) or the NF or a coalition of the Left.

In this case, we can presume that the future Government shall be retorically leftist but mildly so in practice, perhaps even less statist than the present military one and selectively friendly to foreign investments.

(2) Disconcerting and/or contradictory orders from Peron, produce a dispersion of the Peronist votes. (a) In this case, the surprise could be that in a second round an independent candidate could win, ex-Minister of Social Welfare Francisco Manrique, who shall collect votes from many Peronists, a great portion of the independent middle-class, pensioners, a confederation of small provincial parties trying to regain national influence, and myself. The NF might have no other choice than support him in the second round. (b) A different surprise would be an alliance between the Radical

Party and the Left, which might get a few more votes than Manrique.

(3) Still another possibility is an apparently impossible alliance between the two major traditional parties, Radical and Peronist, promoted by the Armed Forces and with the banners of nationalism, interventionism, statism and social peace. If the alliance is made, it will undoubtedly win, with the New Force coming second strongly and third the Left. But I am sure that once in power, this arrangement would break down soon.

(4) Finally, a dreadful but possible development, might be the support by Peron of a leftist coalition. They could win easily, with the Radical Party or the NF second strongly.

Scenarios 1 and 3 are a guarantee of a mediocre-to-bad government; Scenarios 2b and 4 of a regime at which I probably would have to pack and leave (to the States, just wait for me) and Scenario 2a a possible HIT.

BEST POSSIBLE CHOICE

I call to your attention Manrique's candidacy, because it was one of the main causes of my resignation from NF. He has a strong anti-Peronist and anti-Communist background (the former considerably and positively erased), and a clearly democratic ideology. His social origins are middle-class and his economics have been, generally, pro-free market and private-property, although not totally coherent. He capitalized politically his passage as Social Welfare Minister during the present military government, to become the only popular, independent leader, besides, of course, Peron. He is certainly not an ideal candidate, but I have the suspicion that such a specimen does not really exist. I believe he is the best possible choice in a dangerous situation.

AIRLINE RESTRICTIONS

To turn to another subject, more directly related to you; during the last few weeks it has been developing what we may call *a case example* of many misunderstandings among USA and other countries, possibly explained by the "liberal corporate system" hypothesis used by revisionist authors of libertarian persuasion (such as Stromberg's piece in May '72 issue of *THE INDIVIDUALIST).*

At a factual level, the problem seems to be the following: as perhaps you don't know (as I didn't until now), the air traffic between USA and some or all of its neighbor countries is restricted to USA and the corresponding neighbor's country's airlines. That is, an Argentine airline whose planes fly from Buenos Aires to NY or California, stopping en route at Mexico City, is not allowed to sell tickets for the last portion of the flight: Mexico–USA. Americans–and, possibly, Mexican–airlines, have a *legal* monopoly in the area. This protection is apparently common and, as always, invites reciprocity. In effect, in a half-imitation vein, the Argentine Govt. decided to allocate *quotas* to foreign airlines in the traffic between Argentina and its neighbor countries. By this system, Braniff, for example, could only transport around 4,000 passengers from Santiago, Chile, to Buenos Aires in the whole year of 1972. Notice that the Argentinian policy was much less protectionist than the USA policy, since the latter implied total prohibition, while the former a simple limitation.

But by July of this year, Braniff had already transported more than the permitted quota. The local air authority did not sanction the transgressor, it merely advised the company that its quota was filled and no more tickets could be sold for the Chile-Buenos Aires stretch. This action apparently caused Braniff to present a protest or something at the C.A.B., which applied a sanction to the only Argentine airline that reaches U.S.A., reducing its frequency by about 30%. Bear in mind the interesting fact that this company (Aerolineas Argentinas) was not, formally, a party to the problem between the local air authority and Braniff. At present, this authority has retaliated, reducing in the same proportion the frequency of Braniff and Pan American flights to Buenos Aires. Nobody knows how the reciprocal escalation shall end.

It is plain here that we have a protectionist policy of one government answered partially and mildly by the other. Of course, our local nationalists are happily using the whole episode, and I am afraid that this time they are closer to the truth. The policy of the C.A.B. seems to be: whatever USA can do, others cannot.

This small incident should not be disregarded as merely a conflict between two statisms. It touches larger issues.

In the first place, it should serve to caution whenever you read or hear about aggression against a foreign company. The reality might be altogether different.

Secondly, it sharply illustrates the way private and public interests are dangerously intertwined.

Thirdly, it is a brilliant example of how and why protectionist policies are not conducive to world peace but to artificial conflicts.

Altogether it is a real pity and it does not help a bit. Further still, it raises a discomforting question: have we libertarians become too naive?

N. Guillermo Molinelli

publisher's notes

• **MONEY COLUMN:** This month *REASON* inaugurates another new feature: a column of advice and commentary on personal, national, and international monetary matters. The author is Davis Keeler, formerly editor and publisher of *RESEARCH REVIEW,* a respected financial advisory letter. Mr. Keeler is a graduate of Northwestern University School of Law, and practiced law in Chicago while publishing *RESEARCH REVIEW.* He is currently on a fellowship at the Institute for Humane Studies in Menlo Park, CA, where he is working on IHS's Liberty and Law project. *REASON* is proud to present Mr. Keeler's bimonthly column to our readers.

• **REASON ASSOCIATES WELCOME:** *REASON* is delighted to welcome the new members of Reason Associates. We plan to publish the names of all new Reason Associates in this column next month. So far, we have received responses from such diverse places as Alaska and Canada in addition to many from California and New York, with points in between.

• **REASON ASSOCIATES TOURS:** Planning is now under way to lay the groundwork for the initial Reason Associates social events. In order to assist in planning these events, we ask the reaction of *all* of our readers to the following ideas. Which, if any, of the

following activities would *you* be interested in participating in with a group of other libertarians?

1) Floating Seminar: an overnight cruise from Los Angeles to San Francisco on a Pacific ocean cruise liner, with cocktails, meals, and several featured speakers. Follow up by a day of shopping and/or touring in San Francisco and a flight back to Los Angeles.

2) Princess Party Cruise: a luxury cruise down the Baja California coast from Los Angeles, leaving Friday at 8 PM and returning Monday at 8 AM. Dancing, dining, and partying all weekend long.

3) Catalina Weekend: cruise from Los Angeles to beautiful unspoiled Catalina Island, 26 miles out in the Pacific. Rent bikes or a jeep and tour the island. Leave Saturday morning, return Sunday night.

4) Ten Days in Mexico: tour Mexico City, Acapulco, and Puerto Vallarta for only $250, including air fare, ground travel, and hotels (except meals).

5) Meet European Libertarians: a ten-day tour to London, Paris, and Rome. Air fare, ground transportation, and hotel for about $400.

Send your reactions—and suggestions—to Reason Associates, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. And while you're at it, why not become a Reason Associate yourself. Regular membership is only $25, which will go towards increase *REASON* promotional activity. See last month's issue for full details on membership benefits.

• **LIBERTARIAN PARTY ELECTION RESULTS:** The vote count for Libertarian Party candidates in California—all write-in candidates—was not completed in time for inclusion in our Libertarian Correspondent report last month. Semi-official returns from the California Secretary of State's office list the Hospers-Nathan ticket as having received 980 votes. The Libertarian Party slate ran far ahead of other better-financed and more experienced write-in campaigns put on by the Socialist Workers Party (574 votes), the Communist Party (373 votes), the Socialist Labor Party (197 votes) and the Universal Party (21 votes).

The only other Libertarian Party candidate in California was *REASON* editor, Manuel Klausner, who ran for Congress in the 30th Congressional District. Because he did not pay the fee ($425) necessary for the votes to be counted, the exact number of the multitude of votes which Klausner received will forever remain a mystery.

To help defray the costs of Klausner's campaign, *REASON* is offering copies of Klausner's unique campaign brochure at $1 apiece. The supply of these brochures is limited—send in your dollar now, and receive this real collector's item!

• **GOLD PRESS CONFERENCE:** The National Committee to Legalize Gold held two press conferences on October 24, one in Los Angeles and the other in New York. Both news conferences were well attended by the press and NCLG ideas quite well received. At the Los Angeles press conference, the United States gold regulations were openly challenged by the display of an illegal foreign gold coin. (See the front page story in the Nov. 15 issue of *COIN WORLD,* the world's largest coin publication.) Authorities were informed of the action in advance but failed to take any action. This marked the fourth time NCLG has challenged the government to enforce the gold regulations by publically displaying illegal gold bullion or coin. NCLG will continue to sponsor public gold displays in an attempt to bring the matter to the courts. If government authorities continue to allow public displays of gold bullion the American people may soon begin to assume the government has no intention of enforcing the gold regulations. The question is: Do government authorities fear that criminal penalties for gold ownership would be declared unconstitutional if the issue was taken to court? NCLG believes the answer is yes. The fact that government authorities have failed to take any action in four NCLG public gold displays tends to bear out their case.

The October 28 New York press conference, held at the Plaza Club, was particularly well covered by the news media. (Some forty members of the press were in attendance.) NCLG advisory board member, Professor Murray Rothbard, made an excellent talk on behalf of gold and economic freedom in general. A display of gold bullion was planned but due to an unfortunate set of circumstances the bar of gold arrived too late to be a part of the press conference. This was particularly disappointing to the directors of NCLG because of the good turnout from the press and because two U.S. Treasury agents were in attendance.

• **REASON IN LIBRARIES:** The following libraries currently carry *REASON.*

UNIVERSITIES: Boston University; Duke University; Arizona State University; Columbia University; University of Michigan; University of Oregon; University of Iowa; Western Illinois University; University of California, Santa Barbara; Hunter College, New York; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Idaho State University; University of Wisconsin, Madison; Saddleback Junior College, Mission Viejo, CA; University of San Francisco; University of Chicago Law School; Temple University; LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas; Colorado State University; University of California, Berkeley; Stanford University; University of Minnesota; Westmont College, Santa Barbara, CA; University of California, Los Angeles; Harvard University; Northeastern University; University of Miami; Kalamazoo College; University of Southern California; Los Angeles City College; University of Toronto, Canada; University of Illinois, Urbana; UCLA Bio-Med Library; Washington University; California State San Jose University Library; Eisenhower College, Seneca Falls, NY.

PUBLIC: California State Library; Los Angeles Public Library; Gordon Nash Library, New Hampton, NH; Denver, Colorado Public Library; Iowa State Traveling Library; McIntire Public (2 branches)—Charlottesville, VA; Brooks Memorial Library—Brattleboro, VT; Salt Lake City Public Library; Fairview Park Public Library, Fairview Park, OH; San Jose, CA Public Library.

If your alma mater's or hometown's library is not included on thse lists, why isn't it? A library subscription would make an excellent gift! The next twelve issues of *REASON* can be sent to the library of your choice at the special gift rate of $8. To take advantage of this special rate, please send your check to *REASON* before March 1, 1973.

• **LIBRARY GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS:** The preceding list of library subscribers has recently been enlarged by the gift subscriptions from the following individuals: Warren Vining, III: Westmont College, Santa Barbara; Bruce Lagasse: University of California at Los Angeles; Mr. and Mrs. Donald Lindsay: Harvard University, Northeastern University, University of Miami.

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** Next month, *REASON* is publishing a significant article by Murray Rothbard

discussing how the free market can provide court systems and police protection—free of coercive taxation. The article is based on a chapter from Rothbard's forthcoming book, *FOR A NEW LIBERTY,* which will be published by The MacMillan Company this spring. *FOR A NEW LIBERTY* sets forth a comprehensive, systematic application of libertarian analysis to current problems, ranging from education and highways, to police and the courts, to foreign policy, and welfare, conservation, ecology and more! You won't want to miss *REASON*'s March issue—so if you are not already a *REASON* subscriber, send in $9 *now* for the next twelve issues of *REASON.*

movies

REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• If you liked *AUNTIE MAME,* you'll probably like **TRAVELS WITH MY AUNT** even better. This film, adapted from Graham Greene's novel and set for the most part in England, combines the same type of outrageous humor with an even more improbable plot. Maggie Smith, who won an Oscar for *THE PRIME OF MISS JEAN BRODIE,* ages about 20 years in this movie to portray "Aunt Augusta," an adventurous, eccentric, amoral schemer who entices her conventional conservative nephew, Henry, into a life of international crime and intrigue. Alec McCowan as the staid Henry is a perfect foil for Maggie Smith's extravagances; the clash of their personalities and life styles provides the spark for much of the humor of the film. Lou Gossett is super-cool as Maggie Smith's black "companion" who, as she puts it, "takes care of my needs." Cindy Williams is impressive as a liberated American co-ed in a panic over her suspected pregnancy. Several wildly implausible adventures occur, which are carried off with such dash and style that they appear almost believable. In a memorable ride aboard the Orient Express, Aunt Augusta attempts to smuggle money to finance a revolution in the Middle East, while Henry is initiated into the delights of marijuana and free love. The script, by Jay Allen and Hugh Wheeler, is witty and literate, if sometimes confusing. The sets are well-designed (especially Aunt Augusta's garish apartment) and the photography is excellent. George Cukor's direction is smooth, if a bit claustrophobic. Rated "PG".

• **PLAY IT AS IT LAYS** features good performances by Tuesday Weld and Anthony Perkins. Unfortunately, that is about all that can be said in favor of the movie. Adapted from Joan Didion's best-seller, the film is a confusing attempt to depict the mental disintegration of a young woman by making the audience experience it firsthand. While this technique may be valuable as a clinical study, it does not make for an interesting or coherent movie. Tuesday Weld gives a strong (perhaps too strong) portrayal of an aimless, neurotic Hollywood wife, married to an underground filmmaker (Adam Roarke) who is cynically cashing in on the critics' enthusiasm for his product. Anthony Perkins plays her best friend, a burnt-out case whose chief satisfaction in life seems to be expounding on his philosophy of nihilism. Most of the movie's other inhabitants are unpleasant creatures whose function is to reinforce its dark atmosphere. In a series of rambling flashbacks, we discover that Miss Weld has had an abortion, and has a retarded daughter in an institution somehwere. As we soon learn, she herself is in an institution, taking mental journeys into episodes of her past life for lack of anything better to do. These flashbacks serve only to make it clear that her life has not been worth living, let alone recording. By the time she makes her affirmation (to go on living) at the end of the movie, one wonders why she bothers. Her answer, "Why not?", is not a good enough reason, when the rest of the film seems to be an essay on the rottonness and futility of human existence. Rated "R".

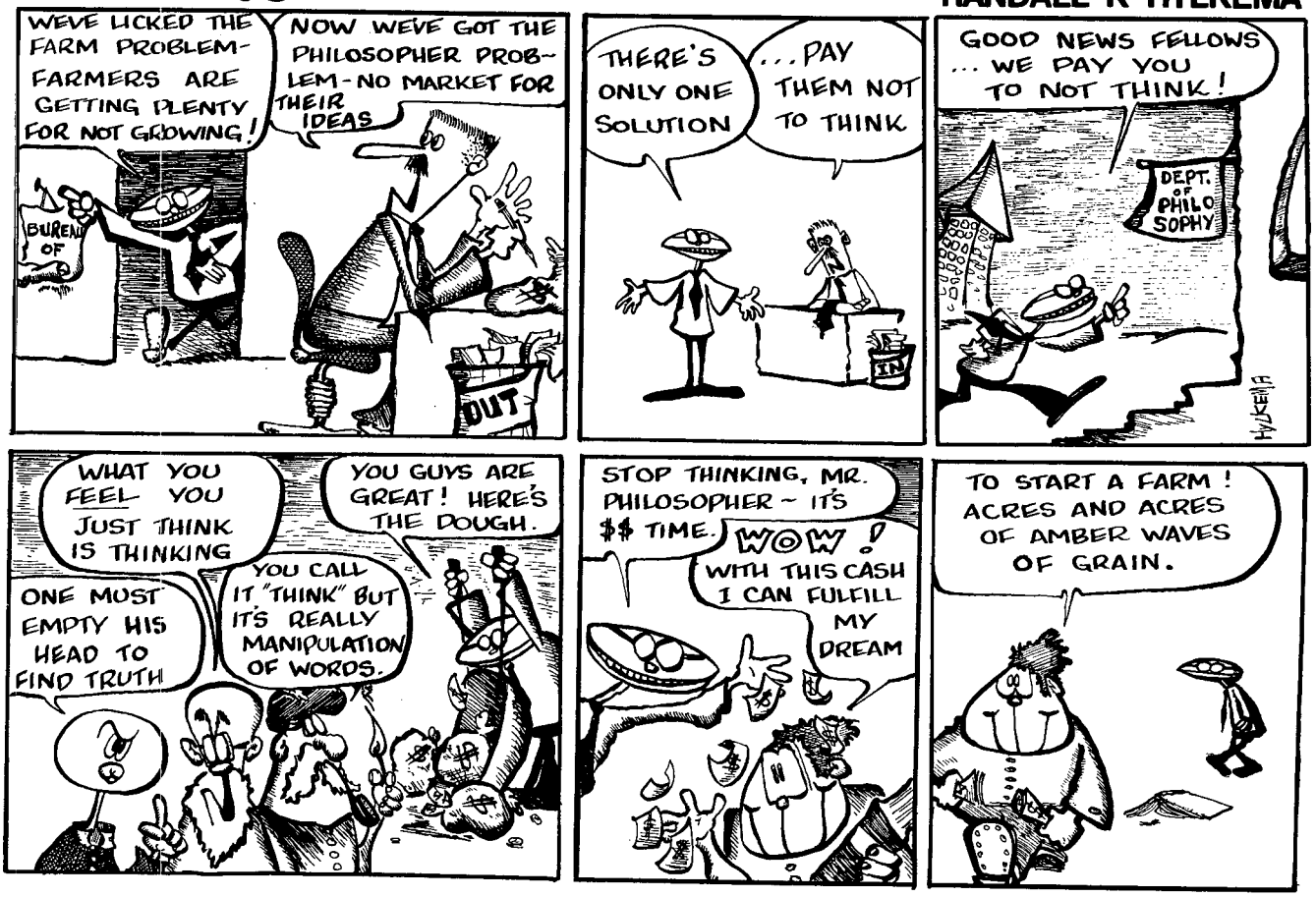
• The movies turned out by Walt Disney Productions may seem "old hat" in the Swinging Seventies, but the formula still works its magic on the younger audiences at which it is aimed. This year's winter release, **SNOWBALL EXPRESS,** is a comedy of misadventures in the tradition of *THE ABSENT-MINDED PROFESSOR* and *BON VOYAGE.* Dean Jones, a credible successor to Fred MacMurray, is cast as a respectable middle-class corporate serf who chucks his job as an insurance accountant when he inherits a hotel in the middle of Colorado snow country. Packing his family (one skeptical wife, two cute children and one loveable St. Bernard) into their station wagon, he makes haste to his new inheritance, only to discover that it is an isolated, abandoned old wreck, inhabited by bats, raccoons and a mooching old prospector. Trying to make a go of it despite these setbacks, our hero is further put upon by a tempermental steam engine and an evil banker who is attempting to cheat him out of his inheritance (played with malicious delight by Keenan Wynn). Colorado's wintry landscape is the setting for a bundle of sight gags, including a wild ski ride and an even wilder snowmobile race. The dialogue and plot are vintage Disney, bright and humorous on an elementary level. Rated "G".

• **JEREMIAH JOHNSON** is a film of many moods, which change as abruptly as the weather on the mountains where the movie takes place. Robert Redford stars as an apprentice "mountain man" who attempts to build a life in the wilderness, with mixed results. Redford is his usual inscrutable self, but for once this trait is used to good advantage, since the film stresses atmosphere and action rather than motivation. The sparse dialogue is rather stilted and formal, a psychological complement to the physical isolation which is the lot of the mountain man. The film starts out as a comedy, with Redford making clumsy, inept attempts to hunt, fish and keep himself alive on a mountain in the dead of winter. Fortunately, he is aided by an ancient mountain veteran whose sole purpose in life is to "hunt griz" (short for grizzly bears). The film turns into a farce as Redford becomes the guest of an Indian tribe. Ignorant of the tribe's customs, he inadvertantly finds himself faced with the choice of marrying the chief's daughter or forfeiting his life. He takes the daughter. Following this episode, the movie becomes in turn an adventure, a tragedy and a grim drama.

Despite the lack of a tight plot, a kind of progression is achieved in the gradual change which mountain life works upon Redford. His seemingly aloof and contemplative personality make him ideal for the role. Delle Bolton makes her motion picture debut with a nicely understated performance as his Indian wife. Stefan Gierasch and Charles Tyner add a touch of eccentricity as fellow mountain men and Redford's erstwhile companions. The photography of the Utah mountain scenery is spectacular. Sydney Pollack's direction, while occasionally too slow, sustains the film's many moods and helps create an unusual cinematic portrait of an unusual breed of man. Rated "PG".

rudebarbs

RANDALL K HYLKEMA


WE'VE LICKED THE FARM PROBLEM- FARMERS ARE GETTING PLENTY FOR NOT GROWING!
BUREAU OF
NOW WE'VE GOT THE PHILOSOPHER PROBLEM - NO MARKET FOR THEIR IDEAS
OUT
THERE'S ONLY ONE SOLUTION
...PAY THEM NOT TO THINK
IN
GOOD NEWS FELLOWS ... WE PAY YOU TO NOT THINK!
DEPT. OF PHILOSOPHY
HYLKEMA
WHAT YOU FEEL YOU JUST THINK IS THINKING
ONE MUST EMPTY HIS HEAD TO FIND TRUTH
YOU CALL IT "THINK" BUT IT'S REALLY MANIPULATION OF WORDS.
YOU GUYS ARE GREAT! HERE'S THE DOUGH.
STOP THINKING, MR. PHILOSOPHER - IT'S $$ TIME.
WOW! WITH THIS CASH I CAN FULFILL MY DREAM
TO START A FARM! ACRES AND ACRES OF AMBER WAVES OF GRAIN.

reason profile

TIBOR R. MACHAN

More than most people in the libertarian movement, thirty-three year old *REASON* associate editor and co-owner Tibor Machan can appreciate what it means to live under Communism. As a child growing up in Hungary, he was fully exposed to socialist indoctrination, even joining his school's chapter of Young Pioneers. However, by the time he reached his teens, it was obvious that the indoctrination hadn't taken and his escape to Germany was arranged, from whence he came to the United States.

After leaving high school Dr. Machan joined the USAF as an Air Policeman, first reading Ayn Rand's novels while standing guard duty. Upon his discharge he entered Claremont Men's College, receiving his B. A. in philosophy in 1965. He received his M. A. in 1966 from New York University and his Ph. D. in philosophy from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1971.

His professional activities have included being a commentator on KPFK-FM in Los Angeles from 1968-70 and writing a column for the Santa Ana *REGISTER* from 1966-70. He was assistant professor of philosophy at California State College in Bakersfield (1970-72) and is currently an assistant professor at State University College in Fredonia, New York. Dr. Machan's research interests include political theory, philosophy of the social sciences, educational theory and metaethics, and he has published in such journals as *THE PERSONALIST* and *THE JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS.* His article on "Freedom and Capitalism" was published in the Harper & Row anthology, *OUTSIDE LOOKING IN* and he has edited *20th CENTURY INDIVIDUALIST THOUGHT* to be published by Nelson-Hall in 1973.

Dr. Machan's leisure interests include a passion for the color orange, long drives, music from ragtime to rock, Fred Astaire and Johnny Carson, Liszt, and Toulous-Lautrec. Currently single (he was married to *REASON* copy editor Marilynn Walther for five years), he plans to remarry soon.

From being a "Pioneer" in his native Budapest, Tibor Machan has moved to being an intellectual pioneer in Libertarianism.

GOLD IN YOUR FUTURE?

Recent developments appear to be bringing closer the day when Americans will have the financial security of being able to own gold—legally. In last fall's presidential election, the platforms of the Republican Party, the American Party, and the Libertarian Party all supported gold legalization. Both the National Committee to Legalize Gold and the National Taxpayers Union testified before the Republican platform committee in support of the right to own and exchange gold. The platform ended up endorsing "the right of American citizens to buy, hold, or sell gold . . . as soon as . . . feasible."

That day of "feasibility" may not be as far off as it would seem. In November the congressional Joint Economic Committee's subcommittee on international exchange and payments got headlines for endorsing gold legalization after the passage of international monetary reforms. The "reforms" consist of making Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) acceptable in lieu of gold in all transactions between the IMF and its member countries. Once this move (which is probably inevitable) takes place, the committee stated, "All prohibitions on the purchase, sale, and holding of gold by American citizens should be promptly abolished." The committee is convinced that once SDRs become accepted between governments, gold will become "just another metal," and that allowing Americans to buy and sell gold would be "a major step in that direction."

Meantime, in Canada, the forces of the free market are again outracing the politicians. On 15 November the Winnipeg Commodity Exchange began trading in the world's first market in gold futures. Initially the exchange is offering five contracts: January, April, July, and October 1973, and January 1974. The contract unit is a 400-troy-ounce gold bar, 995 parts per 1000 of fine gold (the same as the London gold market standard). Investors will have to put up in cash $2800 of the approximately $25,000 value of the contract (based on a gold price of $62.80 per ounce), giving substantial leverage. The big question that remains is whether Americans will be able to trade in the Winnipeg market. The U.S. Treasury considers trading in gold futures to be equivalent to owning gold. It recently announced that American companies may provide *brokerage* services in the Winnipeg market, so long as they act *only* as brokers, and "take reasonable measures to assure that non-U.S. citizens with whom they transact business aren't acting on behalf of U.S. citizens." But who is to define "reasonable"? Winnipeg Exchange chairman Robert Purves considers gold futures contracts to be legally analogous to stock certificates in gold-mining companies—which are perfectly legal for Americans to own. He has been quoted as saying that he "definitely expects" U.S. investors to be trading in gold futures. The next move, apparently, is up to American investors.

SOURCES:

"Is GOP's Gold Plank Really Gold?" *BUSINESS WEEK,* 26 August 1972.

"Panel Urges Repeal of Law Against Gold Possession," UPI (Washington), 19 November 1972.

"Gold Futures Trading to Begin in Winnipeg This Week," Patrick Wallace, *WALL STREET JOURNAL,* 13 November 1972.

"A Future in Gold," *TIME,* 18 September 1972.

AND POT TOO?

In quick succession near the close of the year, two highly-respected organizations joined the chorus in favor of ending the marijuana prohibition. First to make the announcement was Consumers Union, the nation's largest and most effective product-testing organization. Stating that "marijuana is here to stay," CU urged complete legalization of the use, cultivation, and sale of marijuana. Taking what appears to be a pragmatic stand, CU urged that marijuana be treated the same way as alcohol, because "no conceivable law enforcement program can curb its availability." On the other hand, CU consistently urged that all persons now serving prison terms for marijuana possession be freed.

In addition, the organization's just-released report looked into hard drugs, and recommended that drug addiction cease to be a crime, so that all addicts would be able to receive narcotics legally. The report correctly points out that, aside from the narcotics' addicting power, "the other disastrous effects of narcotics addiction—on mind, body, and society—are primarily the result of laws and policies."

The really big surprise came from *NATIONAL REVIEW,* which headlined its 8 December issue: "The Time Has Come: Abolish the Pot Laws." Its lead article, by Richard C. Cowan, urged American conservatives to take the lead in working for repeal of the marijuana laws, citing both moral and practical arguments. Cowan's article was followed by a critique entitled "What's the Rush?" by James Burnham, who grudgingly admitted that he favors "decriminalization" of marijuana, but no further. This was followed by a short, ill-tempered diatribe by Prof. Jeffrey Hart, which includes the following conservative gem: "Now I don't care much for all that 'free society' rhetoric. No reference to marijuana occurs in the First Amendment." The commentaries were concluded on an upbeat note, however, by editor William Buckley, who pointed out that none other than Barry Goldwater has supported legalization of pot since 1969. Buckley reviewed the Hart and Burnham comments, found them wanting, and stated that he finds Mr. Cowan's case for legalization "not merely plausible, but overwhelming . . . I flatly agree with him." The conservative movement will never be the same.

SOURCES:

"Repeal of 'Pot' Laws Urged by Consumer Unit," *LOS ANGELES TIMES/ WASHINGTON POST,* 28 November 1972.

"American Conservatives Should Revise Their Position on Marijuana," Richard C. Cowan, *NATIONAL REVIEW,*8 December 1972.

TROUBLE FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES

A new financial blow is about to hit the country's tax-supported colleges and universities, according to an Associated Press story. In most state university systems, students who are "residents" of the state (i.e., those whose parents live in the state and pay taxes there) pay little or no tuition, while "nonresident" students pay tuition—often on a par with that of private schools. All of that may soon change as a result of the 26th Amendment, which extended voting rights to 18-year-olds. Since passage of the Amendment, there has been an increasing trend by the states to treat

18-year-olds as citizens, particularly in California, where the legislature extended full adult citizenship to 18-year-olds. But, once 18-year-olds are legally adults, their residence is no longer determined by where their parents reside. Hence, collecting "nonresident" tuition will be impossible.

The impact of this change of status is just beginning to dawn on the education bureaucrats. The National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities have just completed a survey of 400 four-year member colleges. The schools jointly enrolled 463,357 nonresident students last fall, and received over $329 million in nonresident tuition, over and above what these students would have paid as residents. Reviewing these figures, the study's author, Dr. Robert F. Carbone of the University of Maryland, stated that "the effect on higher education budgets will be staggering."

The public universities haven't yet thrown in the towel, but are waiting for the inevitable to be established in court. Already an Alabama court has held that if a student is a state resident for one purpose (e.g., voting), then he is a resident for all other purposes. A federal court in New Mexico overturned a newly-passed law that defined as nonresidents for purposes of tuition all students who had not graduated from a New Mexico high school. And a U.S. district court has ordered the University of Connecticut to refund the tuition differential to two students who claimed residency based on voter registration. Carbone neatly summed up the long-term effects of such decisions: "If nonresident tuition is declared illegal, it is likely that the institutional response will be to increase the fees of all students to cover lost income. Clearly, this expediency *would strike a telling blow to the low-tuition principle upon which public higher education in America has been built.*" That it would, and in the process, it would help to re-establish a competitive marketplace in education, in place of the tax-subsidized system so dear to the bureaucrats' hearts.

SOURCES:

"Youths' Rights Imperil College Tuition System," Associated Press (Washington), 29 September 1972.

"Residency Laws Force a Tuition Crisis," *BUSINESS WEEK,* 23 September 1972.

UP THE IRS

According to the National Taxpayers Union (NTU), two new court rulings have greatly increased taxpayer standing in disputes with the Internal Revenue Service. The first ruling, from the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, affirms the right of citizens to invoke normal constitutional guarantees in dealings with the IRS. For example, a citizen may now plead the 5th Amendment to avoid furnishing the IRS with information which could result in either civil or criminal liability. The second ruling gives citizens the right to examine the IRS's internal guidelines for dealing with taxpayers, and to know how the IRS allocates audit manpower between large and small taxpayers. This information has not yet been made available, despite the court ruling, because the IRS is charging Mr. Philip Long, who brought the suit, for the cost of Xeroxing the guidelines. This is no small sum, since the table of contents alone runs to over 1000 pages, according to the NTU.

SOURCE:

"Two Court Rulings Greatly Increase Taxpayer Standing," *DOLLARS AND SENSE,* September 1972, p. 3.

HOSPERS YES, NIXON NO!

When Electoral College members met on December 18, 1972, to cast their ballots, a lifelong Republican, Roger Lea MacBride of Charlottesville, gave his vote to the Libertarian Party candidates, John Hospers and Toni Nathan. A *REASON* subscriber, MacBride recently donated *REASON* gift subscriptions to three libraries in response to *REASON*'s special Election Day offer. MacBride's vote gave Hospers only 16 less electoral votes than George McGovern. Final tally, which won't be made official until January 6, looks like: Nixon, 520; McGovern, 17; Hospers, 1.

SOURCE:

"Nixon's Landslide Pared by One Vote," *LOS ANGELES TIMES,*19 December 1972.

letters

ZEIGLER INTERVIEW EXCITING

I found "Advertising and Social Change: An Interview with John Zeigler" *(REASON,* October 1972), to be the most exciting as well as provocative article that I have ever read on advancing the cause of libertarianism. I never dreamed that advertising could pay off as handsomely in regard to recruiting popular support for libertarian causes as Zeigler suggests. When one has as many regrets over the microscopic size of our movement as I do, and looks in vain over the news-stands as I do for the slightest acknowledgement that it exists, it is a joy to discover Mr. Zeigler's promise of advancing our ideas through advertising, thus winning support for the movement, ultimately.

He brought out a telling point about libertarians that they have not reached the public. From what I have noticed they sound too much like "intellectuals" in Eric Hoffer's sense of the word. They approach the public as lecturers, reciting a carefully learned lesson, then returning to their closed, elitist, circle to interchange their wose over the unreceptivity of the "authoritarian-sheep-alliance" that comprises the "masses." There are too many harangues and not enough appeals. Zeigler's method of advertising could replace the harangues with appeals. As he says it is as "Simple" as making the ad "pertain" to "self-interest".

At a time as the present when all who value their lives are in danger in one way or another from growing statism, steps for self-protection are necessary. Zeigler's SPEAK OUT program excited me with the possibility of filling that need by alerting the voting public to the danger through advertising. It could be used by any of the libertarian organizations for a specific cause such as the abolition of involuntary mental hospitalization. It is well worth a try.

Thank you *REASON* for that splendid article.

Kerry Bardon
Watertown N.Y.

COMMUNICATION

Every piece of Objective, Libertarian, Randian material I have ever seen is aimed at Objectivists, Libertarians, and Randites. We (not collectively) who claim to be those truly in touch with reality have let principle obscure the world. One shouts revolution, another drifts with evolution and yet another subcontracts Atlantis. But we are talking to each other. I am a believer.

Academic Associates

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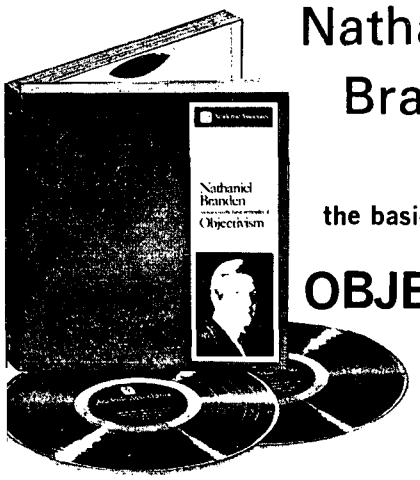
(213) 653-2170

Academic Associates, founded in 1969, is an educational organization of Objectivist-libertarian persuasion which offers books and lecture recordings on psychology, philosophy, politics and related fields. Semi-annually, AA publishes **Book News**, which provides book reviews and descriptions of current offerings.



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lectures on the basic principles of

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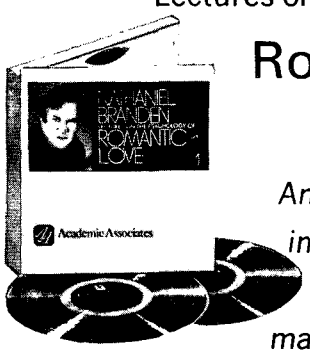
Nathaniel Branden

Lectures on the Psychology of

Romantic Love *



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I can only convert once. Objectivism, like all other radical principle-oriented isms, is doomed to walled conversation.

Our handicap is nonviolence. But bloodless coups are not unheard of. We are stuck with a mindless democracy or seething mobs. Those are our realities. Even the most well-constructed social contract is at the mercy of the masses. And the masses have one psyche. It is raw id. Whoever overlays ego and superego rules. And to rule is one course open.

The island is the alternative. But it is an alternative necessitating such a defense posture and isolationism that it innately negates reality. Then there is a growth of the masses within the walls. And we are back to who rules the ruled.

The premise is simple. As long as Objectivism is innately non-aggressive. And as long as masses are non-thinking oriented. For reason to prevail, it must conquer the masses.

The basic problems are therefore those of communications. What to. And how to. Leaving a by-problem. How to finance it all.

Most guerrilla handbooks give us the answer. (Even John Galt) Seize control of the mass media. Not quite acceptable. Use the mass media. Which answers also the by-problem. Own mass media. Television. Radio. Newspapers. Magazines. Publishing houses. These are still commercially profitable enterprises. And who in all the world should be more adept at profiting from them? With both the means and method, the "what to" is left.

At one time or another almost every conceivable notion has been popularized and become acceptable. Often only for a short while. The point being that anything is acceptable to the public if it is put in the right way.

Our philosophy attests to the true nature of man. Man is what he is. Not what he ought to be. Except that he ought to be what he is.

This is our advantage. When all is said and done man is his own number one. That has some earth shattering psychological import. Even if the opposition knows our game, all things being equal, we can't lose. Our premise is real.

The all things being equal is the crux. We cannot didactically sermonize to the masses. We must sell to them without selling out. But we must popularize.

People will not buy or be influenced by the *RAND NEWSLETTER.* They want *PLAYBOY, COSMO, NEW YORK TIMES,* Harry Reasoner. We can give them this. But in-with-and-under each palatable tid-bit there must be a guiding undercurrent of realism and reason.

Bruce Reichert
Chicago, IL

LIBERTARIAN ISSUES

I have just bought and read John Hospers' book *LIBERTARIANISM,* and found it disappointing in its limitations. He rode the economic issue—about which we are not likely to get anything done for over a generation—so hard, he totally overlooked issues vital to every libertarian, which are currently in controversy today.

He devoted a few paragraphs to racism and none to sexism. He totally failed to mention abolition of the draft, abortion law repeal, repeal of all restrictions of birth control devices and information, equality of rights before the law for men and women, and other issues now the intellectual property of the New Left. These issues should properly be OUR intellectual property.

Many of those issues named are seemingly of interest only to women, and among those, only to feminists. Yet, is there really a debate over whether The Individual is of both sexes?

In one analogy, Hospers asks his readers, presumably male, if they would trust total freedom in their financial affairs to a trusted friend, fiancee, or wife. Yet, married women are constrained by law to do this in every state in the Union! Is Hospers aware of this? His remark, by the way, is that it is risky to entrust your money even to a beloved wife. Or husband, Dr. Hospers! Yet, laws enslaving married women go unmentioned by him.

The draft is such a basic violation of human rights, a libertarian writing a primer like Hospers' book should include it before the economic issue. Who was it that said "Conservatives, accepting the draft, claim that man has a right to his pocketbook, but not to his life?"

His error of emphasis is so common in the movement it must be underlined, or we become no more than another bunch of conservatives.

Pat Mathews
Albuquerque, NM

BROWNE ON GOLD

I very much enjoyed your interview with Harry Browne [*REASON,* November 1972], but I must disagree with certain of the things he said. First of all, it is not necessarily true that gold coins will profit from a devaluation. Mr. Browne should have confined his statement to *foreign non-subsidiary* coins presently being produced. American gold coins and most older foreign gold coins are valuable not because they are made out of gold but because they are rare. While the price of gold will always establish the floor value of a gold coin, the fact remains that the present prices of these collecter's items are far above the present or even the anticipated future price of gold. Gold coins are therefore in the same investment category as postage stamps and old paintings. They have their own supply and demand schedules and will fluctuate with the price of gold only to the extent that foolish investors *think* that they are connected with fluctuations in the price of gold. Cf., the fluctuations in prices of common-date uncirculated liberty half eagles v. cd unc. liberty double eagles, 1966-1973 (in R. S. Yeoman, *A GUIDEBOOK OF UNITED STATES COINS,* 19th & 26th ed.).

A far better thing to do is invest in gold itself. This is not as difficult as it seems, and if done right, it is not illegal. This is because Congress never did know its elbow from its other end when it comes to economics. They do not understand that a money comes into existence precisely because of its universal appeal *in direct use.* So simply use this *unfortunate* oversight on the part of Congress to your own advantage. Figure out a way to use a large lump of metal for other than monetary purposes and you're home free (e.g., Mr. Poole might consider removing some of the lead weights from his model trains and replacing them with a denser metal). One can generally buy gold from local goldsmiths and jewelers.

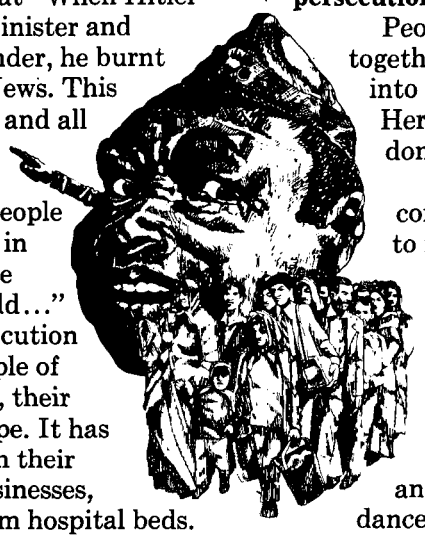
Finally, contrary to Mr. Browne, there are all sorts of tax loopholes which can be widely published without fear of their being closed. More on this later.

Robert B. Crim
Naugatuck, CT

When Adolph Hitler had what he considered a "Jewish problem", his solution was extermination. And the world looked the other way.

Now, one of Hitler's biggest admirers has just faced an "Asian problem". He solved it by throwing out 55,000 Asians from their homes in Uganda.

Uganda's dictator President, Idi Amin, has convinced himself and told the world that "When Hitler was the Prime Minister and supreme commander, he burnt over six million Jews. This is because Hitler and all German people knew that the Israelis are not people who are working in the interest of the people of the world..." Amin-style persecution has stripped people of their possessions, their dignity, their hope. It has ripped them from their homes, their businesses, even the sick from hospital beds. More than a million Asians in other parts of Africa fear the same thing might happen to them at any time.



It takes social pressure to make persecution unacceptable. So let's hope this time the world doesn't look away.

The Asian Africans have two kinds of needs: Desperate ones. And the need for a future homeland.

When you're thrown out of your own country, you need hope, not just charity. The countries that took in the Ugandan refugees temporarily on an emergency basis can't promise them a future. Only a new homeland can do that.

Finally, an organization has been formed with one unique purpose: To find homes for persecuted people forced to leave their own country.

Today, the persecution is in Uganda. Tomorrow, who knows?

The Asian African Relief Foundation has been working to find new locations where the expelled Ugandan Asians can go because they want to, not because they have no choice. With the help of influential people who share our concern, we're looking for a place where all persecuted people — of every race and every religion — can live free again. We need your contributions to carry on the search.

You can help meet the urgent needs of the Asian Africans.

Right now, the evicted Ugandans need food, clothing, shelter and medical care. Your contributions, and your own fund raising task force can meet their needs.

It takes more than money to confront persecution. It takes your ingenuity.

People with ideas can join together to turn a few dollars into hundreds of thousands. Here are some ways it's been done successfully:

You can organize concerts, from classical to rock.

Have an art sale. Gather amateur arists or art classes together to design and sell greeting cards, posters and bumper stickers.

Schools, churches and groups can hold dance marathons, bake sales, rummage sales, car washes, art exhibits, bazaars, plays, walking tours, bike trips, auctions, recycling drives.

Use this ad any way you can. Get your local press, radio and television stations to publicize the plight of African Asians. The more involved people become, the more they'll see that there are alternatives to oppression.

Anything you can do to prevent the world from looking the other way could help make persecution a thing of the past.

HELP MAKE PERSECUTION SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE.

ASIAN AFRICAN RELIEF FOUNDATION
P.O. Box 6262
Santa Barbara, California 93111

Enclosed is my contribution to help the Asian African refugees and all persecuted people in furtherance of their requirements for relocation and emergency care. (Refugees' immediate needs will be served through OXFAM-AMERICA, INC., an affiliate of OXFAM, the thirty-year-old international relief and development organization.)

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☐ I would like to volunteer as a fund raiser. My special skills include (speech-making, organizing, sales, secretarial, etc.):

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☐ Please use my additional contribution of $_____ to run more ads like this to fight persecution.

☐ Please send me _____ reprints of this ad, at 50¢ each, to use however I can.

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Address_____

City, State, Zip_____

Make checks payable to Asian African Relief Foundation.
Tax exemption has been applied for.

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Full details available to you or your counsel — but prompt help is needed to proceed effectively. Citizens Lawful Rights Assoc., C.A. Miketta, Chairman, 6323 Upland Road, Camarillo, Calif. 93010 (805- 482-2554).

PERSONAL

AN L.A. WOMAN who can set my soul free of self-imposed chains. I am a tiger inside. Do you want to liberate and enjoy him? Respond to *REASON* Box DH.

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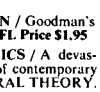

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